HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Congressional Pressure Mounts

Will U.S. Prosecute Stokely?

Stokely Carmichael finally returned to the United States on Monday, December 11, after a five-month tour of four continents. When he arrived on an Air France flight at the Kennedy International Airport he was met by 39 of his supporters shouting:

"Biff, biff, bang, bang! Ungawa! Black Power!"

After spending 36 minutes with U.S. Public Health, Immigration and Justice Department officials, Carmichael got into a car with Charlie "X" Kenyatta, the leader of the Harlem-based Mau Mau group and James Forman, a former SNCC leader. They sped to the Harlem YMCA for a clandestine meeting with H. Rap Brown, the present chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

While at the airport, Carmichael made no comment except to acknowledge that his passport had been seized by federal agents. A spokesman for SNCC, Ralph Featherstone, refused to answer any other questions, but did tell the gathered newsmen that Stokely would later hold a press conference. As of this writing, the conference has not taken place.

★ ★ ★

Few foreign travelers have stirred up as much furor as Stokely Carmichael. His journey, which began in July, included visits to Tanzania, Egypt, Algiers, Sweden, Spain, Cuba, England, France, North Viet Nam, Guinea and Czechoslovakia. In Cuba, Stokely was praised as a North American revolutionary and made an honorary member of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity.

He responded by urging American Negroes to wage a Viet Nam style guerrilla war in this country.

He went on to say, "In Newark we applied war tactics of the guerrillas. We are preparing groups of urban guerrillas for our defense in the cities. The price of these rebellions is a high price that one must pay. This fight is not going to be a simple street meeting. It is going to be a fight to the death." He also suggested possible assassination of President Johnson and his Cabinet.

In Paris, Carmichael said he wanted a United States defeat in Viet Nam and urged American Negroes to "develop a resistance movement that will disrupt the entire United States." His utterances in other countries were equally revolutionary.

In London, he stated that "we are going to take over—if the whites don't like it, we will stamp them out." In Guinea, he vowed: "We will win our rights or we are going to burn the country down to the ground."

These outrageous statements are not, however, much different from what Carmichael was advocating here in the United States prior to his world tour. In New York City, he told a crowd: "In Cleveland, they're building stores with no windows—all brick. I don't know what they think they'll accomplish. It just means we'll have to move from Molotov cocktails to dynamite." In Boston and Washington, D.C., he suggested bombing stores; in Atlanta he called for the "beating of heads" to spread the revolution.

In Harlem and elsewhere he has relentlessly urged Negroes not to participate in the draft or to go to Viet Nam. "Hell no, we won't go!" is the slogan that he has drummed into the ears of draft-age youngsters. "We'll fight in Mississippi, in Watts, in Birmingham, but not in Viet Nam," he has cried out on countless occasions.

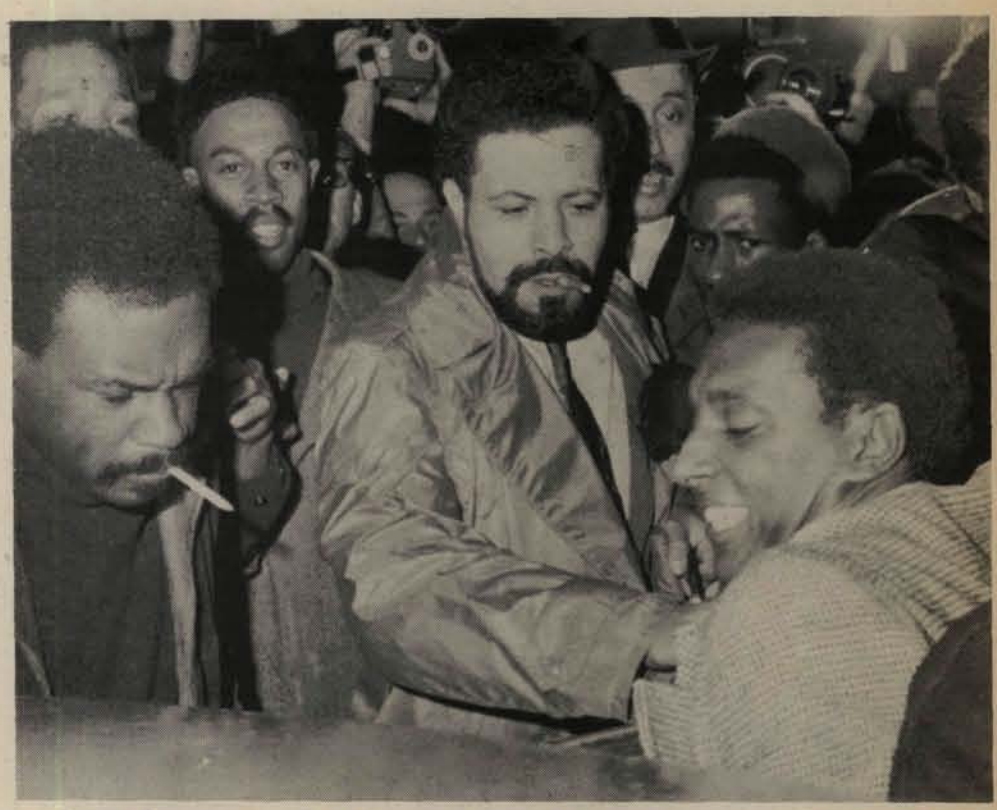
Carmichael's inflammatory outbursts have prompted demands by various persons that he be clapped in jail for violating various sections of the U.S. Criminal Code.

Former Supreme Court Justice Charles Whittaker has written *Human Events:* "Based upon press-reported statements, actions and conduct of Mr. Carmichael, and assuming them to be true, I have no doubt whatever that Mr. Carmichael has thereby violated existing federal statutes and, of course, such violations constitute a basis for his prosecution under those statutes so violated."

Dean Joseph O'Meara of the Notre Dame Law School, in a remarkable article appearing in the December 1967 issue of the *American Bar Association Journal,* suggests Carmichael is in clear violation of Title 50, section 462(a) of the U.S. Code which states:

"Any member of the Selective Service System or any other person . . . who knowingly counsels, aids, or abets another to refuse or evade registration or service in the armed forces or any of the requirements of this title . . . shall upon conviction in any district court of the United States or competent jurisdiction be punished by imprisonment for not more than five years or a fine of not more than $10,000 or by both such fine and imprisonment."

Carmichael's utterances, says Dean O'Meara, are comparable to the statements issued by defendants who were found guilty in both the *Schenck* and *Miller* cases.



Stokely Carmichael, at right, arrives at John F. Kennedy International Airport after his worldwide tour. He was greeted by "Black Power" advocates who shouted "Mau Mau!, Mau Mau!" The only action federal officials took against him was to relieve him of his passport.

"Why," he asks, "is Carmichael entitled to an immunity that was denied to them? In point of fact, I submit that Carmichael's language is more violent, more provocative, more likely to inflame young men against conscription and to defy the draft than the statements made by Schenck and Miller."

Others believe that Carmichael should be prosecuted under sedition laws. The U.S. Criminal Code specifically provides for the imprisonment of: "Whoever incites, sets on foot, assists, or engages in any rebellion or insurrection against the authority of the United States or the laws thereof, or gives aid or comfort thereto."

Title 18, Section 2385 of the U.S. Code makes it a federal crime "to advocate, abet or advise overthrowing or destroying the U.S. government or any political subdivision thereof by force or violence."

The Justice Department, however, seems reluctant to take the steps necessary to indict Carmichael on any charge at all. In a phone conversation with a *Human Events* writer, a spokesman would only state that the department was "giving the matter careful consideration." Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark is

(Continued on page 4)

NEWSPAPER

Jersey Fishermen Hit Hard By New U.S.-Soviet Treaty
Page 9

Court OKs Reds in Defense Plants
Page 6

Decision Reached in Otepka Case
Page 3

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CONTENTS

Politics '68 5
Supreme Court OK's Employment of Communists in Defense Plants—From the Chicago Tribune 6
McCarthy Campaign Masterminded and Financed by Bobby's Forces—By Robert S. Allen 7
Ike's Views Even More Hawkish in Private—By Paul Scott 8
LBJ's "Little List" of Cabinet Changes—By Ralph de Toledano 8
U.S. Again Capitulates in New Soviet Fishing Pact 9
The Bang-Jensen Case—Ten Years Later—By Frederic Nelson 10
High Cost of Business—From the Cincinatti Enquirer 10
Poll of Big-City Voters Points to Nixon in 1968—By John Chamberlain 11
Our Obsolete Welfare State—By George Champion 12
The Growing Threat to Private Pension Plans—By Raymond Moley 14
The End of the Manchester Book Affair—By Henry J. Taylor 14
Spotlight on Congress 15

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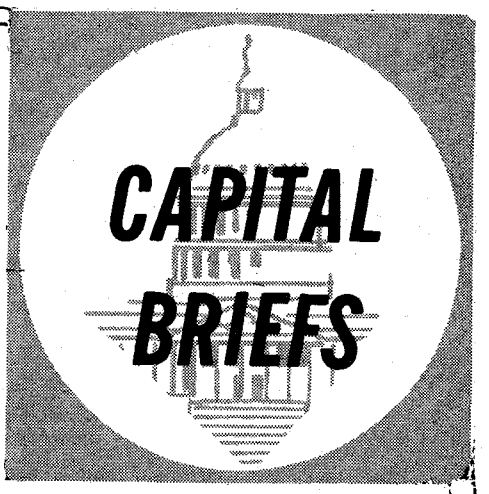

● Insiders believe that the Justice Department will have to try to lock up **Stokely Carmichael** by next summer, no matter how reluctant Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark may be to prosecute. "If these annual summer riots occur, as certainly seems likely," noted one politico last week, "LBJ better see to it that Stokely's not running around loose. Johnson knows he'll be taking a terrific risk with the voters if the cities are going up in flames and nothing's been done about Carmichael."

● As Congress was in the process of adjourning last week, veteran anti-Communists in the Nation's Capital were increasingly worried about the **state of America's security.** In just four days the Warren Court struck down a law barring Communist party members from working in defense plants; Secretary of State Dean Rusk issued an order preventing Otto Otepka from working on security cases in the State Department; and LBJ-appointed Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark showed absolutely no signs of wanting to prosecute pro-Communist revolutionary Stokely Carmichael, who had returned to the United States to spread the gospel of "hate-Whitey" and guerrilla warfare.

● Expect Sen. **James Eastland** (D.-Miss.) next year to push for an omnibus security bill that will try to repair the damage done to the nation's security by the attorney general and the courts.

● Also coming up next year: hearings by Sen. **Sam Ervin** (D.-N.C.) into whether the National Labor Relations Board has overstepped its powers.

● College football's best running back, O.J. (Orange Juice) Simpson, who will participate in the famed Southern California Rose Bowl on New Year's Day, has publicly repudiated the plan by some Negroes to **boycott the Olympics.** Simpson, who abhors violence and prefers to avoid organized protests, thinks the whole idea is foolish and predicts that it may never materialize.

● Radical leftists plan to disrupt next summer's **Democratic National Convention** at Chicago. Among the "peace" groups scheduled to participate: Students for a Democratic Society, the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, the National Conference for New Politics, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Women Strike for Peace, and the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

● Former White House press secretary **Bill Moyers** confessed recently that he never liked the job. In a speech at Auburn University, Moyers said that one of the more distasteful requirements of his post was "planting questions for reporters to ask President Johnson because those were the questions the President desired to answer."

● Virtually all military leaders believe the **bombing in Viet Nam** is necessary to win the war, but they also believe that the bombing could be much more effective. This was the conclusion of many others last week when it was revealed that the U.S. has now dropped more bombs on North and South Viet Nam than it dumped on Europe during all of World War II.

● **James G. Patton,** former president of the ultra-liberal National Farmers Union and a vice chairman of the radical Americans for Democratic Action, has a new job. A paid consultant to various U.N. agencies, Patton was last week elected president of the United World Federalists.

● Dr. **Martin Luther King** has installed a former founder and field secretary of the violence-prone SNCC to head his massive civil disobedience campaign that will begin this spring in Washington. He is the Rev. Bernard Lafayette, 27. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, by the way, now acknowledges that it is "one of the most militant civil rights organizations."

● LBJ is so upset about the Texas political picture that he's pressuring Gov. **John Connally** to reconsider his announced plan not to seek re-election in 1968. Connally, according to Lone Star State pros, is the best candidate the Democrats can field and the surest to keep Texas in the Democratic column next year.

● The 90th Congress may have to brace itself for a new onslaught of anti-poverty legislation next year. Having pushed through a massive appropriation for the urban anti-poverty program this year, LBJ is now expected to campaign for a massive appropriation for a ***"rural" anti-poverty program*** come January. The President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, headed by former liberal Kentucky Gov. Edward Breathitt, has, in fact, just issued a 160-page report calling for guaranteed federal employment for 14 million rural Americans.

● More evidence that the "**model cities**" **program** is going to be ruled by the militant poor: Percy Moore, the executive director of the program in Oakland, Calif., has published a letter urging Negro control of LBJ's new scheme to aid the ghettoes.

● A Negro air hero told President Johnson last week that U.S. fighter pilots are emphatically opposed to any **bombing pause** in the Viet Nam war. Col. Daniel James, just back from 78 combat missions, told the President that "we don't like pauses because we catch hell when we go back there again." When the bombing pressure is kept up on North Viet Nam, James added, the pilots can see from the sky that the "stuff [supplies] going south is substantially decreased."

● The Kremlin has sent a squadron of Tupolev 16 jet **bombers and crews to Egypt,** Rep. J. Herbert Burke (R.-Fla.) reports. This marks the first time that Russia has supplied pilots and complete crews to "allies" outside the Soviet bloc, Burke said, adding: "The Soviet Union is moving like wild fire into the Middle East to capture control of the vital sea routes in that area and in the Mediterranean."

● FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover reports that crime rose another 16 per cent in the first nine months of 1967 over the same period. Worried pros at the Democratic National Committee fear that **crime in the streets** will be the crucial issue in the 1968 campaign.

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Rusk Disciplines Otepka...

As Congress was speeding toward adjournment last week, the State Department finally handed down its decision in the celebrated case of Otto Otepka. Otepka is the long-time top security evaluator who was "fired" from his duties back in 1963 but kept on the payroll shuffling papers pending a department hearing.

OTEPKA

After hearing officer Edward Dragon declared Otepka's conduct "unbecoming an officer of the Department of State," Secretary of State Dean Rusk, who said he had considered the "entire record" of Otepka's appeal, directed that Otepka be "severely reprimanded," reduced in grade from GS-15 to GS-14 and transferred to duties "which do not involve the administration of personnel security functions." Otepka, who is considering appealing the verdict to the courts, has, in effect, been removed from security responsibilities.

What was Otepka's crime? Since his ouster, the department has directed a steady drumfire of scurrilous criticism at him, suggesting to congressmen and the public that he was even guilty of violating espionage laws. But as the department hearing was about to get under way, officials at State suddenly dropped 10 of the 13 "charges," obviously realizing the weakness of their case.

After more than a thousand pages of testimony taken over the past several months, hearing officer Dragon found Otepka guilty only of delivering, without proper authority, two memoranda and an investigative report to the chief counsel of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, a duly authorized body of Congress. That, apparently, has been Otepka's sole "crime."

Dragon, moreover, acknowledged that Otepka had delivered this data for the purpose of proving to the subcommittee that he, rather than his superior, John Reilly, had been telling the truth.

Yet curiously enough, Dragon then said he could find "no extenuating" circumstances for the delivery of the documents! "How incredible," exclaimed one observer, "that Otepka is being penalized for having proved that his testimony before Congress was truthful."

The secret State Department hearings, a portion of which has come into *Human Events'* possession, clearly reveal that Otepka needed to turn over some documents to the subcommittee if his word were to be believed.

The subcommittee's chief counsel, Jay Sourwine, relates that there was conflicting testimony between Reilly and Otepka on vital issues. Sourwine called Otepka into his offices and told him that Reilly, in effect, had accused Otepka of being a liar and that Otepka had better put up or shut up. Otepka said he was sure he could support every bit of testimony he had given. Sourwine then gave Otepka copies of Reilly's testimony and had them marked to indicate the conflicts.

As a result, Otepka brought in a memorandum that demonstrated that on Sept. 10, 1962, Reilly had received in writing from Otepka information about eight individuals who were prospective appointees to the Advisory Committee on International Organizations and for whom emergency clearances were desired by Harlan Cleveland.

Otepka felt many of the individuals had backgrounds that should be further explored before granting them clearances. Reilly had testified, however, that Otepka had alerted him to the case of only one individual. Thus, it was clear that Otepka could only prove the accuracy of what he had said by producing the memorandum he had written to Reilly or a copy of it. This he did.

Otepka gave the other two documents to Sourwine for the same reasons. But Dragon somehow could not excuse Otepka's conduct and his failure to clear the matter with Reilly.

Reilly, furthermore, was not just someone who had differed with Otepka on a few points. As the department hearings and the Senate Internal Security subcommittee reveal, Reilly was part of a "get Otepka" movement (though Dragon managed to find that no "conspiracy" existed).

Brought into the department as Otepka's superior in 1962 after a recommendation from Bobby Kennedy's office, Reilly, himself, admitted that at some time in 1963 he might have said "facetiously" that he "went down there to get Otepka." Reilly, moreover, concocted a number of plots to get rid of Otepka, even going so far as to authorize an illegal wiretap on his phone. Reilly finally admitted he was aware of the wiretap only after he was threatened with perjury charges by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee for having denied knowledge of it in sworn testimony.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

As every knowledgeable person on Capitol Hill readily admits, however, the State Department did not go after Otepka because he had handed over a few "unauthorized" documents to a properly constituted congressional subcommittee. The department went after him because he believed in strict standards of security, and only if Otepka were replaced could the Kennedy-Johnson Administrations hope to put into strategic positions various individuals with very dubious backgrounds.

...But Ignores Explosive Brief

Politicos in Washington are saying the brief filed on behalf of Otto Otepka during the recent State Department hearings may become a sizzling campaign issue in 1968.

Part of the brief's amazing contents, revealing a wholesale scrapping of security procedures, was detailed in our October 21 issue. But *Human Events* has now managed to acquire the entire brief through friends in the State Department. Unquestionably, it's a "shocker."

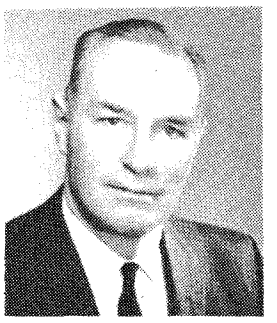
"If the public ever reads it," said one security expert, "they're liable to bombard the State Department with letters demanding an explanation."

Here are just some of the startling—and so far undenied—charges made by the brief:

• Walt Whitman Rostow, LBJ's national security adviser, was (as we had reported earlier) three times rejected for service in the Eisenhower Administration for certain duties because he was considered a security risk.

• In September 1960, a Mr. A was brought into the Division of Evaluations as deputy chief. Both Otepka and the then chief of the division, Emery J. Adams, objected to the assignment, but were overruled. Just prior to his transfer to this position, Mr. A. had served for about two years as a security officer in Athens, Greece. An examination of his performance in Athens revealed that he had failed to disclose to his headquarters the fact that there had occurred during his tenure 52 security violations involving official "confidential" material, 22 security violations involving "secret" and "top secret" matters and approximately 125 security violations involving "Official Use Only" material. Mr. A. ignored them all, but got his new job anyway. Mr. A. also advocated the "progressive approach" to security matters . He downgraded a security evaluator for being "inhibited by the ultra-conservative attitude which seems to have grown up in the Personnel Security Administration of the department over the past number of years."

The most remarkable story related in the Otepka briefs, however, goes back to July 1962 when Harlan Cleveland, then assistant secretary of state for International Organizational Affairs and now chief of mission, Brussels, talked with Otepka about the case of Mr. B. Mr. B. had been recommended by Cleveland for a position in the Department of State. Both had served together in the Mutual Cooperation Administration (later known as the Mutual Security Agency) and had also been associated at the University of Syracuse.



CLEVELAND

When Cleveland wondered why Mr. B. hadn't received a quick clearance, Otepka replied that Mr. B. had a bad record and "had been dismissed as a security risk by the MSA." Moreover, the top security officer in that agency had commented that Mr. B.'s "security file was one of the rottenest he had ever seen."

Cleveland responded with critical remarks about MSA Administrator Harold Stassen and accused Stassen of having extremist views with respect to security. Cleveland then asked Otepka "if there were any prospects for the re-employment of Alger Hiss in the United States government."

Obviously startled, Otepka said there was no chance for Hiss to be hired because he had been convicted of a felony.

Otepka reported this peculiar conversation to Reilly.

Nevertheless, Mr. B. was subsequently appointed to a position in the State Department. Interestingly enough, he was evaluated by a man who had been lavishly praised by Mr. A in 1961 because of his "liberal bent" and because he was "well suited to be in the vanguard of the more progressive [evaluation] approach now demanded."

Otepka's involvement with Cleveland, however, did not end there. On July 30, 1962, the New York *Times* published a letter signed by one Leonard B. Boudin, who for many years had been involved with Communist party leaders and had aggressively defended persons against allegations that they were Communists. He had also represented certain officials of the United Nations who were dismissed after refusing to answer questions put to them by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. He is presently registered with the federal government as an agent in this country for Castro's Cuban government.

Boudin's letter objected to the screening process for U.N. employes. He claimed that "the careers of many devoted and brilliant international civil servants were destroyed in the hysteria of the 1950s." And he deplored the fact that "the United States government is still enforcing President Truman's and President Eisenhower's executive orders which screen,

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on political grounds, American employes of the United Nations and other international organizations.

"The expressed criteria include membership on the attorney general's list; the sources include derogatory information in congressional committee files; the procedures are based on undisclosed evidence. Such screening is inconsistent with the charter's principle . . . the present Administration would now score a major achievement if it were to eliminate its so-called loyalty program in the international field."

Then, according to the Otepka brief, an official in the Department of Justice sent Reilly a clipping from the New York *Times* containing the Boudin letter. The letter also had a "routing slip." On Aug. 3, 1962, Reilly initialed the slip and sent it, together with the clipping, to Otepka.

Suddenly, Harlan Cleveland re-entered the picture. In August of '62 Otepka was officially informed by memoranda that Cleveland wished to set up an Advisory Committee on International Organizations. Cleveland had personally selected the eight members of the committee and he wished them to be selected immediately—in short, he wished to invoke the waiver procedure.

Otepka objected and documented his objections in memoranda to Reilly (the same memoranda that Otepka turned over to the Senate Internal Security subcommittee). He was particularly concerned about three proposed members who had served on the personal staff of Alger Hiss, did not believe in his guilt and, in their opinion, did not even think Hiss was a security risk. Otepka felt this derogatory information demanded complete resolution before these persons could be appointed.

Otepka's objections, however, were circumvented by Cleveland and Reilly, who decided committee members would be entered on the rolls of the State Department as consultants and therefore could avoid certain stringent security measures.

On Feb. 19, 1963, the new advisory committee submitted a draft report to the State Department on security clearance procedures for U.N. employes. Amazingly enough, Otepka discovered that the recommendations in the draft report coincided with the position taken by Boudin in his letter to the New York *Times*.

Not only would pre-employment investigation of American appointees to U.N. agencies be dispensed with but, as Otepka further observed, the draft report in general recommended a reversion to the programs and procedures advocated and administered by Alger Hiss for the screening of American personnel in the United Nations.

In this connection, Otepka, according to the briefs, recalled that in 1946 Hiss had prepared a list of 200 people whose names were submitted by the State Department to the United Nations as possible appointees to U.N. jobs. It turned out that 40 of these persons who had subversive connections were later dismissed from the United Nations and 26 of the 40 invoked the plea of self-incrimination while testifying before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee.

Otepka put up such a furor about this that the advisory committee revised its draft report, striking out the recommendations that coincided with the views of Boudin and Hiss. Seven months later Otepka no longer had a job in security.

As far as anyone can determine, there have been no rebuttals to the Otepka brief by the State Department or anyone else.

Will McCloskey Pull a 'Morse'?

Conservatives in California's 11th Congressional District are all but certain to challenge Rep. Paul (Pete) McCloskey for renomination next June. McCloskey is the ultra-liberal young Marine who was elected last week to fill out the unexpired term of the late Arthur Younger.

McCloskey captured the GOP nomination when three conservatives—including Shirley Temple Black—split the conservative vote among them. McCloskey was further aided by the votes of thousands of Democrats who crossed into the Republican primary to support his candidacy.

McCloskey then went on to defeat Democrat Roy Archibald. During that campaign McCloskey called for the admission of Red China to the United Nations, saying it was "somewhat of an insult" to Peking that she be barred. McCloskey also called for a reduction in the penalties for the use of marijuana.

Some observers are suggesting that McCloskey, a dove on Viet Nam and a liberal on domestic matters, may decide that his home is in the Democratic party and "pull a Wayne Morse," moving to the other side of the House.

Nixon's Goof

While Richard Nixon fared reasonably well at the Republican Governors Conference, a statement of his in New York City last week somewhat dismayed conservatives. Attending a testimonial dinner for Sen. Jacob Javits, Nixon said that he would vote for Javits in the general election next year and in any senatorial primary that might be held. The former vice president said that if this announcement "has the effect of discouraging a primary, fine." Kieran O'Doherty, chairman of the New York Conservative party, which plans to run a candidate against Javits on both the Conservative and Republican tickets, put Nixon on notice that he cannot take for granted the Conservative party endorsement of him for President. "Frankly," said O'Doherty, "there are great numbers of conservatives who are honestly undecided as between Mr. Nixon and Gov. Reagan of California. There is no doubt that Mr. Nixon's gratuitous endorsement of Sen. Javits for re-election has startled many conservatives."

Continued from front page

Will U.S. Prosecute Stokely?

known to be opposed to arresting Carmichael, though grass-roots and congressional pressure may finally compel him to reverse his stand.

The uproar from Congress regarding the Justice Department's lack of action has been deafening. Florida's Rep. Robert Sikes, a Democrat, exploded: " . . . the Department of Justice did not join in [Stokely's] welcome, but did not do much about the fact that he has preached insurrection and the overthrow of the American government through the Communist press all over the world. . . .

"True, his passport has been taken from him. But that mild restraint doesn't stop his activities against our country. . . .

"It is beginning to appear that there are some in the Department of Justice who are obstructing the proper discharge of its responsibilities. It is time to get rid of them and of any others who simply are trying to avoid doing their duty."

Rep. Sam Devine (R.-Ohio) echoed Sikes' remarks. "The attorney general," Devine sarcastically noted, "shows the courage of a bull-butterfly in meeting his responsibilities with characters of this nature.

"The Justice Department lamely and almost apologetically lifted Carmichael's passport upon his arrival and permitted him to go his merry way." Fellow Ohio Republican Rep. William Minshall dispatched a telegram to Clark which read, in part: "Why do you refuse to carry out your duties as attorney general to uphold and support the Constitution of the United States?"

Rep. Louis Wyman, a former attorney general of New Hampshire, says Carmichael should be "indicted forthwith" for "knowingly, or willfully" advocating the desirability of destroying the government of the United States by "force or violence."

Wyman thinks that Carmichael could even be prosecuted under the Immigration and Naturalization Act which provides that a person who is a U.S. citizen by birth or naturalization shall lose his nationality for preaching the overthrow of the U.S. government.

Sen. Frank Moss (D.-Utah), who has served as a Salt Lake City judge and county attorney, was equally outraged by the Justice Department's refusal to act. "The Department of Justice," snapped Moss, "questions whether there is sufficient evidence to establish that Carmichael has violated any laws now on the statute books. My answer . . . is: File charges and let a court of competent jurisdiction render a decision.

"This is the proper procedure under our system of jurisprudence. When reasonable grounds exist to believe that a federal crime has been committed, it is the duty of the Department of Justice to file charges, and I submit that the conduct of Mr. Carmichael constitutes such reasonable grounds."

Detailing his attempts to get the department to act, Moss said: "On December 1, I directed a letter to Atty. Gen. Clark suggesting that the conduct of Mr. Carmichael might warrant prosecution under Title 18, United States Code, Section 2381—Treason; Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 2383—Rebellion and Insurrection; and Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 2385—Advocating Overthrow of Government. In addition, I noted that there may be other provisions of law which he has violated.

"On December 8, I received a reply to my letter from Assistant Atty. Gen. Yeagley advising me that the Justice Department is currently investigating Carmichael's activities.

"After all these months, after all of Mr. Carmichael's utterances, after all this conduct, I am hard put to understand why the department is still only investigating his activities. . . .

All through the week congressmen from both sides of the aisle rose to decry the apathy of the government and the Justice Department concerning Carmichael's activities. By week's end the severest "punishment" the government had inflicted on Stokely was to lift his passport. "Yeah, they got it," he replied airily to reporters at Kennedy airport. Stokely, of course, had no reason to be alarmed. Minutes earlier in Washington Acting Secretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach conceded that no further action could be taken for his violation of passport regulations. A Supreme Court decision last year, it seems, had struck down a law providing criminal penalties for those who visit certain countries in violation of passport restrictions.

Katzenbach did announce the Administration was going to push for a new bill that would impose a year in prison and a $1,000 fine on U.S. citizens who travel to countries designated as "prohibited" by the State Department. And department authorities believe the language of the bill is specific enough to meet with the approval of even the Warren Court. But congressmen were something less than impressed by the Katzenbach statement.

Sen. George Murphy (R.-Calif.) tagged the proposed law a "grandstand play" since Katzenbach acknowledged that Congress wouldn't be able to act on it before adjournment.

"Where have the members of the massive State Department been all these months?" demanded Murphy.

As things now stand, in fact, Carmichael might even be able to obtain another passport. To achieve this, he would first have to sign an affidavit promising not to travel to any country on the proscribed list. And then he would have to convince Secretary of State Dean Rusk that *this time* he really wouldn't violate the regulations. And if Rusk was convinced, Stokely would still be allowed to globe-trot and spread his "whirlwind of hate."

And if he reneged on his affidavit? Well, about the only dire punishment the State Department could inflict on Stokely when he returned would be . . . to lift his newly issued passport.

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POLITICS '68

COPE

The AFL-CIO convention now winding up in Miami Beach turned out to be a gigantic, three-week-long **rally for the Democratic party**. Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz called it "the first joint convention of the AFL-CIO and the President's Cabinet." He had good cause. President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, five Cabinet officials (including Dean Rusk), and such other Administration luminaries as Betty Furness, Sargent Shriver and AID Administrator William Gaud made the scene.

Emerging from the conclave was this simple fact: the AFL-CIO's ruling oligarchy is going to do everything within its power to **re-elect LBJ** and an overwhelmingly Democratic Congress in 1968.

The focus of the labor campaign, of course, will be the **Committee on Political Education** (COPE). During the convention the AFL-CIO's General Board, the body directly overseeing COPE's activities, met for hours plotting how to do in Republicans and came up with the following plan:

• In House races, COPE will concentrate on 90 congressional districts regarded as "swing seats," or so-called **marginal districts**. These will most likely include the 47 seats Republicans picked up in 1966, districts won by Democrats the same year by less than 55 per cent of the total vote, and seats which went Democratic in 1964 for the first time in several years.

• A "**scare" campaign**—similar to the successful one launched against Barry Goldwater in 1964—will be trotted out again to take workers' minds off such real issues as Viet Nam, taxes, inflation and crime. Instead of dealing with these topics, labors' political operatives will be trying to terrify the rank-and-file about the "dreadful things" that would happen under a Republican president. The GOP, it will be claimed, will halt collective bargaining, destroy unions and weaken the entire labor structure. "We are urging each international union to set up a special task force so that each member will fully understand this danger," COPE Director Barkan told the Wall Street Journal.

• Beginning next summer, COPE will sponsor **weekly political seminars** for local labor leaders in the 10 states with the largest electoral votes. The purpose of these unique seminars will be, first, to line up local leaders behind the LBJ effort and second, to give them ammunition (should the "scare" campaign fail) with which to rebut members' arguments on such "emotional" issues as "open housing" and crime in the streets.

• Four **strategy planning sessions**, to cover every section of the country, will be held next spring, with President Meany conducting the conferences to stress the importance of unified political action. At these gatherings COPE will assign individual unions to specific congressional races and otherwise coordinate political activities between the federation's 130 affiliated unions.

• Computers will be in use more than ever before in COPE's **voter registration drives**. The political committee already has the names, addresses, precincts and "political profile" of some two million AFL-CIO members on data processing cards and plans to add more; a simple run of the cards through a computer tells COPE which voters are not yet registered and the workers are then contacted by COPE volunteers.

• Union members will be urged to campaign for LBJ and get COPE **volunteer support** from among members of non-labor organizations to which they might belong.

★ ★ ★

• No matter what action Walter Reuther's politically powerful **United Auto Workers** takes concerning staying in or pulling out of the AFL-CIO, it also will be campaigning hard for LBJ. Although some UAW members oppose the war in Viet Nam, union Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey (himself an outspoken dove) said last week "we'll probably be working as hard or harder than before" for LBJ's re-election.

TEXAS

Democrats are not at all happy with the political situation in Texas. Not only has the state's popular governor, John Connally, said he won't run again (though he is under heavy pressure to reverse his decision), but last week the Democrats lost a **significant election** in a traditionally Democratic area.

For the first time since 1872, voters in Travis County, which encompasses the Austin area that was part of LBJ's old congressional district, selected a Republican for the Texas House of Representatives. By a vote of 12,632 to 9,414 (considered a very good turnout for a legislative election) 27-year-old **Maurice Angly** defeated Democrat Rogers Wilson, a supporter of the "Great Society."

Since they had lost three of the four special elections held earlier this fall, the state and local Democratic organizations went all out in this contest. U.S. Rep. **J. J. Pickle** strongly endorsed Wilson and Rep. **Henry B. Gonzalez** made radio talks in Spanish in his behalf and put in a personal appearance at a rally for Mexican-Americans. The Texas Public Employees Association also campaigned heavily for Wilson among the thousands of state employes who live in the Austin area.

Republican Angly's victory was viewed by pros as a sign that LBJ was "losing his grip." State GOP Chairman **Peter O'Donnell Jr.** claimed the victory "carries with it national implications" and is "fresh evidence we have an excellent chance to elect a Republican governor next year."

President Johnson and AFL-CIO President George Meany acknowledge cheers from the audience at the AFL-CIO convention in Miami Beach.

REAGAN

A "Reagan for President" headquarters has been set up in the Avalon Towers in Washington, D.C., by **Walter J. Dilbeck Jr.**, a World War II hero and Indiana millionaire.

REAGAN

Dilbeck's interest in Reagan is surprising, but somewhat reminiscent of the governor's own political transformation. Dilbeck was a campaign worker for liberal Democrat Adlai Stevenson, opposed Barry Goldwater in 1964 and until last year had voted a straight Democratic ticket.

But **Viet Nam and American morality** are two issues which vitally concern the Evansville, Ind., real estate man, and today he believes that Reagan is the best man to solve them.

The 49-year-old Dilbeck, who won the Distinguished Service Cross for single-handedly turning back a German charge, says the California governor can win the 1968 election on a two-word slogan: "**Law and order.**" Although Dilbeck says he's had no contact with Reagan, he has already gathered 22,000 signatures in his home state in support of Reagan's candidacy. He plans to gather a million, with the hope that this will prompt Republicans to draft Reagan at the Miami convention.

• Reagan has received a surprisingly good review from another source: the liberal Julius Duscha in the New York Times Magazine.

Duscha suggests that Reagan has done a good job in his first year as governor while sticking to his conservative principles. "As governor," says Duscha, "he has been competent and has conscientiously tried to follow a **conservative political philosophy** which holds that the size of government ought to be reduced."

Part of Reagan's conservatism includes his vetoing more anti-poverty projects than any other U.S. governor, **striving for a balanced budget** even if it means higher taxes, and the selection of a number of conservative-minded persons for important administration posts. As real estate commissioner, for example, he appointed Burton E. Smith, a former president of the California Real Estate Association, who, like Reagan, is opposed to "open housing" legislation. Reagan's choice for state director of industrial relations was Albert C. Beeson, a management consultant who was a member of the National Labor Relations Board during the Eisenhower Administration and is the first state head of labor relations in 40 years without a union background.

FLORIDA

Herman Goldner, former mayor of St. Petersburg, Fla., has announced that he will challenge hard-line conservative Rep. **Ed Gurney** (R.-Fla.) in the GOP senatorial primary next year. The primary winner will then have a shot at the Senate seat now held by Democrat George Smathers, who says he plans to retire in 1968.

A liberal Republican who supported LBJ in 1964, Goldner apparently plans to run as a **dove candidate**. He says that if elected he will push for a constitutional amendment requiring congressional approval before the President could commit American troops to fight on foreign soil.

Florida Republicans, however, are less worried about Goldner's campaign than the possibility that Rep. **William Cramer,** also a strong conservative, may decide to make it a three-way race. If Cramer enters the contest, he would split the conservative vote, probably permitting Goldner to capture the primary. Cramer reportedly agreed he wouldn't square off against Gurney, but Florida Republicans say that Cramer, who had made plans two years ago to campaign for Smathers' seat, is now making statements privately that suggest he still has a mind to run.

His entrance into the race, Florida politicos contend, might not only permit Goldner to emerge victorious in the primary, but would probably prevent any Republican from capturing Smathers' seat in the general election. Florida conservatives hope that Cramer and Gurney will be able to work out their problems so that the forces of conservatism are united in the Sunshine State next year.

NOTES

• The California legislature has enacted a new **redistricting plan** that appears to help every incumbent, Democratic and Republican alike. The bipartisan plan was drawn up by the lawmakers themselves.

• Four Republicans were elected last week to the **Jacksonville, Fla.**, City Council, the first members of their party to win a Jacksonville office in the city's history. Jacksonville, incidentally, is the Sunshine State's largest city.

• Columnist William S. White suggests that radical leftists will seize control of **Eugene McCarthy's presidential campaign**, just as they did in Henry Wallace's 1948 White House bid. Wallace's Progressive party was later found by Congress to be Red-controlled.

• Bernard L. Boutin, former chief of the Small Business Administration and ex-deputy director of the Office of Economic Opportunity (anti-poverty headquarters in Washington), has been named to direct **LBJ's New Hampshire primary campaign.** Gov. John W. King and Democratic Sen. Thomas J. McIntyre have announced they will run in the March 12 primary as delegates to the national convention favorable to Johnson. Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.), who is contesting LBJ for the Democratic nomination, is still deciding whether he should enter the race in the Granite State.

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The Supreme Court has consistently glossed over the inherent risks in having Communists in sensitive positions. The celebrated case of Alger Hiss (above) should have helped to show the court that the danger is more than "talismanic incantations."

Supreme Court OK's Employment Of Communists in Defense Plants

From the Chicago *Tribune*

The Supreme Court, in a 6-to-2 decision on December 11, enlarged on some previous fantasies by ruling that members of the Communist party are so harmless that they can work in defense plants. It knocked out a provision of the 1950 Subversive Activities Control Act as "an unconstitutional abridgment of the right of association protected by the 1st Amendment."

By the same reasoning, a cell in the United States composed of followers of the Viet Cong and Communist North Viet Nam would have a "protected" right to employment in American defense facilities and perhaps within the Pentagon itself, notwithstanding the fact we are at war.

Chief Justice Earl Warren, with the kind of reverse logic for which he is celebrated, held that "the statute quite literally establishes guilt by association alone, without any need to establish that an individual's association creates the threat feared by government in proscribing it."

Let's examine a few of the premises implicit in this statement. The Communist is associated with other Communists, and all together are in the service either of the Soviet Union or, if their sympathies lie with Peking, of Red China. Certainly no one in his right mind thinks that their loyalties and sympathies lie with the United States or that they are working for the welfare and security of the United States. They are dedicated to its overthrow by whatever means present themselves—force and violence if attainable, conspiratorial methods if these are the limits of existing choice.

Chief Justice Warren and his associates in the majority seem to be unable to recall that Klaus Fuchs, Dr. Alan Nunn May, Dr. Bruno Pontecorvo, the Rosenbergs, Greenglass and Sobell were introduced into American and British atomic installations during World War II. With what result? With the result that the secret for constructing nuclear weapons, originally an American monopoly, was delivered in a hurry to Moscow, and that when we went on to build the hydrogen bomb, the spies got that off to Russia almost as soon as it was perfected.

Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White and countless other Communists and Soviet spies and agents infiltrated the United States government and passed along every state secret serviceable to our enemies.

More recently, the British spies Kim Philby, Guy Burgess and Donald Maclean, the first a high intelligence officer, the others foreign office operatives with a pipeline into our most confidential operations, passed along knowledge of our most vital secret decisions to Moscow and Peking. It is acknowledged that Red China intervened in Korea because it knew of the restrictions placed on our military command in resisting.

Yet Warren dismisses the whole incontestable record as an appeal to "talismanic incantations." This is the same mental giant who discovered that communism is harmless when only "advocacy" can be proved against its adherents. He wants to wait for an instance of proven overt action before condemning any Communist. Like stealing nuclear secrets, for instance?

Warren and his brethren have refused to uphold the requirement of the Subversive Activities Control Act that Communists must register with the government. They have held that Communists may have passports to travel to Moscow, Peking and Hanoi. They have denied the right of a state to inquire whether teachers are Communists. They have knocked out a prohibition against Communists holding office in labor unions. And so, drearily, on and on.

Whose side is this court on?

□ □ □

SOUND COMMENT—At the opening session of the Maryland State Constitutional Convention, the convention president offered these timely remarks: "State governments have become cringing, favor-seeking vassals fawning at the feet of Uncle Sam, grateful for the crumbs of our money tossed back to us. This big sprawling bureaucratic colossus sitting astride the Potomac is too big, too far removed from the people, too impersonal to make more than an uncertain, feeble, ineffective and oft-times inept attempt to solve these problems which ought to be solved by state and local governments."

□ □ □

SLOW EROSION — "It is seldom that liberty of any kind is lost all at once." —David Hume

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McCarthy Campaign Masterminded and Financed by Bobby's Forces

By ROBERT S. ALLEN

Sen. Eugene McCarthy's "dump Johnson" jihad is being masterminded, managed and financed by Kennedy forces.

From start to finish, it's a Kennedy-engineered and directed operation. The idea of being the standard-bearer of an organized revolt against the President's renomination was first broached to McCarthy by Kennedy intimates.

Foremost among them were:

Richard Goodwin, White House assistant under both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, close adviser of Sen. Robert Kennedy, a backstage power in the militantly liberal Americans for Democratic Action, and author of several anonymous articles castigating the Administration published recently in a prominent magazine; Arthur Schlesinger Jr., also a former White House staff member, Roosevelt and Kennedy biographer, one-time head of ADA, and a leading Kennedy zealot; and Gilbert Harrison, editor of an ultra-liberal weekly who fancies himself a kingmaker.

In additon to their consuming desire to put Bobby Kennedy in the White House, the trio is violently opposed to the Viet Nam war.

They also propositioned other senators, among them George McGovern (S.D.), Food for Peace director under President Kennedy, and Vance Hartke (Ind.). Only McCarthy was responsive, saying, "In times such as these, I feel strongly that dissent is good for the party and the country."

McCarthy made up his mind to challenge Johnson after a series of conferences with Bobby Kennedy.

Until the "dump Johnson" development, relations between them had been distant. In 1960 McCarthy plumped for Adlai Stevenson. He had served with John Kennedy in both the House and Senate, and made no secret he didn't rate him highly. Throughout the three years of the Kennedy regime McCarthy was an outsider, and when Bobby became a senator, there was no perceptible change in their ties.

But there is now. Bobby speaks glowingly of McCarthy's "courage" and "high moral and intellectual stature," and McCarthy assures all and sundry he has "never been as much an opponent of the Kennedys as he been reported."

Revealingly illustrative of the close bonds now prevailing between McCarthy and Kennedy, and the dominant backstage role the mop-haired New Yorker is playing in the mild-voiced Minnesotan's crusade is the following unnoticed incident that occurred in the Senate two weeks ago:

Under consideration was the bill to increase Social Security benefits and taxes. A rollcall was demanded on a controversial amendment. As Democratic senators hurried into the chamber, they were apprised of what was pending and how the party was voting.

McCarthy brushed that information aside. Instead, he asked, "How is Bobby voting?"

When told, McCarthy voted the same way.

To colleagues who observed this, it was startlingly significant. To their knowledge, it was the first time McCarthy had ever evinced any interest in Bobby's stand, and voted on the basis of it.

In each of the five presidential primaries where McCarthy has indicated he will run, top Kennedy henchmen already are busily setting up organizations and raising funds.

According to a report going the rounds in the Senate, McCarthy has been given assurances that "at least $25,000" will be forthcoming from "members of the Kennedy family." It is said one of these contributors will be Joseph Kennedy, aged and ailing former ambassador to Britain and father of the late President and Bobby.

Following are the long-time Kennedy leaders who are actively promoting McCarthy's "dump Johnson" candidacy in their states:

Massachusetts—Kenneth O'Donnell, on the staff of the late President

One of the important men behind the McCarthy-Kennedy drive is longtime liberal establishment historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

throughout his political career, and unsuccessful aspirant for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1966. O'Donnell has been on the payroll of Sen. Teddy Kennedy, and until the past month had never evinced any special regard for McCarthy. But he is now preparing to mastermind the Minnesotan's drive to carry the April 30 primary.

Wisconsin—Donald Peterson, state chairman of ADA and a strident anti-Viet Nam agitator. Also former Lt. Patrick Lucey, who has been a Kennedy zealot since 1960, and who has lauded McCarthy's insurgency as "wholesome."

Nebraska—Donal Magee, Creighton University physiologist and militant

Former JFK aide Kenneth O'Donnell is planning to aid McCarthy in Massachusetts primary.

anti-Viet Nam and civil rights crusader. Strenuous efforts are being made to line up influential support among Omaha union leaders, but so far to no avail.

Oregon—Former State Chairman Howard Morgan, a long-time "dove" who was defeated by a 2-to-1 margin in last year's Democratic primary for the Senate. Also in the McCarthy forefront is one-time Charles Porter, who had been clamoring for the nomination of Bobby Kennedy. Morgan and Porter are talking big about "waging a ful-scale campaign," and giving no indication of any worries about obtaining the necessary funds.

California—Kennedy leaders and elements in the turbulent and widely split California Democratic Council are actively for McCarthy. So are numerous faculty members and student leaders throughout the state who have been staging anti-draft and other demonstrations and disturbances. These aggressive forces are to play key roles in drumming up public support for McCarthy, while fund-raising will be carried on among well-heeled entertainment figures and liberals.

Also counted on for financial backing is Harry Bridges, leftist head of the West Coast longshoremen, who reportedly contributed to the recent heavily unsuccessful San Francisco referendum on the Viet Nam war.

While McCarthy's inner group of managers will privately admit doubts as to the outcome of his wide-ranging jihad, they are beamingly sanguine about its financing.

Says Allard Lowenstein, "We already have pledges of $1 million, and there is plenty more available if it's needed." This is echoed by his associate Curtis Gans, an ADA leader. "There is no problem about money. Whatever McCarthy needs will be forthcoming."

And Joseph Rauh, Washington attorney, ADA founder and ardent Kennedy adherent, sums it up grandiloquently with, "There's gold in them thar peace hills."

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Ike's Views Even More Hawkish in Private

'Hot pursuit' only one of suggested Viet Nam tactics

By PAUL SCOTT

Former President Eisenhower's private views on what the United States should do to end the Viet Nam war are even more explosive than his recent TV statement.

In addition to his call for "hot pursuit" of enemy forces across the South Vietnamese border into Laos and Cambodia, Eisenhower wants President Johnson to issue a blunt warning to Hanoi similar to the one he sent Peking during the Korean War.

Conferring with the staff of the National Republican Coordinating Committee recently at his Gettysburg, Pa., farm, the former President pointed out that he had notified Peking that he was prepared to use nuclear weapons and that the Chinese Communists' knowledge of this "had a great effect in ending the conflict."

"I let it be known that if there were not going to be an armistice," stated Eisenhower, "I would no longer regard this war as being limited or deny ourselves the right to attack wherever we saw the enemy coming at us—meaning that we were not going to be bound by the kind of weapons that we would use."

"That is the message President Johnson should send to Hanoi," continued Eisenhower. "He must let them know that the U.S. will not continue to take these heavy casualties in Viet Nam and that we are going to do whatever is necessary to end the war."

Quizzed on how such a warning should be delivered to the North Vietnamese leaders, Eisenhower replied:

"It could go to Hanoi through a number of channels. We sent our warning through a Far East diplomat who was known to have close ties in Peking. We know it got through. An answer came back within a week that they were ready to resume conversations about the armistice. That is one approach President Johnson could use. There are others."

When one GOP staff member asked if these views were known to the White House, the former President answered:

"President Johnson knows how I would act if I were in the White House. We have discussed the Viet Nam war several times and my views are well known to him."

Asked about the use of nuclear weapons if the Chinese Communists should send troops to Viet Nam, Eisenhower left no doubt about where he stood, stating:

"I don't believe there would be any alternative than for this country to use every weapon available, including nuclear weapons. I wouldn't use them within South Viet Nam, but it would be intolerable if we didn't use every weapon to strike at the enemy's supply lines and bases in China in order to protect our fighting forces."

In discussing the Viet Nam war as a 1968 political issue, Eisenhower urged the staff to encourage members of the national GOP coordinating committee to play up the division among the Democrats.

"The Democratic party is so divided on the war that I can't see how they can run the country," said Eisenhower. "This division should be highlighted in all statements made by members of this committee."

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Communist China is vigorously opposing any Viet Nam peace negotiations until after the military forces can intervene in the fighting there.

Recent North Vietnamese documents, captured by U.S. units while overrunning enemy bases in November, clearly reveal that Peking's strategy is to force Hanoi to keep U.S. combat troops bogged down in South Viet Nam as long as possible.

One such document, circulated to North Vietnamese division commanders only, outlined Peking's position on Viet Nam as follows:

"China holds the view that conditions for negotiations are not yet ripe nor will be for many months. The Chinese contend we should continue fighting to bog down the U.S., waiting until China has built strong forces to launch all-out, rapid offensives using all types of weapons and heeding no borders."

Another of the captured North Vietnamese documents indicated that China's views appear to be having a tremendous influence on Hanoi's position at this time. The highlights are:

"Our policy: to continue fighting until conditions develop when we can fight and negotiate at the same time. We must continue to tie down as many U.S. divisions as possible, waiting until China has built strong forces to launch an all-out offensive.

"If the enemy wants negotiations, he must accept a number of conditions, starting with a permanent halt in the bombing of North Viet Nam and the concentration of its forces in areas agreed on in advance."

According to U.S. intelligence, the last condition is completely new, never before included in Hanoi's demands.

A third captured document, which is getting a lot of priority attention at the White House, reveals that Hanoi has asked Russia for medium-range ground-to-ground rockets.

This document is the first confirmation of reports by Polish diplomats at the United Nations that the North Vietnamese were seeking 500-mile-range rockets capable of hitting U.S. bases in South Viet Nam.

In also reveals that Russia has agreed to supply North Viet Nam with an additional 50 MIG-21 fighters and several hundred additional SAM, ground-to-air missiles and their launchers.

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A prime example of what most military experts say should be done more often in North Viet Nam was the bombing of the oil tank farm just outside Hanoi last year. Former President Eisenhower has called for stepped-up measures to win the war.

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WELL-PAID "GENERALS"—Poverty war "General" Sargent Shriver and his five principal assistants are each paid more than Gen. William C. Westmoreland, our Viet Nam commander. Yearly, Mr. Shriver gets $30,000, his deputy director $28,500, three assistant directors $27,000 each, and another assistant director $26,000. Gen. Westmoreland's salary is $24,023 a year.

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ONWARD AND UPWARD—Uncle Sam is now offering 459 different programs of federal aid to state and local governments. Such aid is costing U.S. taxpayers $17 billion a year, a figure that will quadruple in the next decade, according to Administration officials.

LBJ's 'Little List' of Cabinet Changes

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

Whenever a President is in trouble, Washington's rumor factories go into full production. Their major output concerns the members of the official family—and what the President intends to do about them. Obviously, to the Washington gossip corps, a man in peril looks for scapegoats, and what is handier than a Cabinet officer?

Washington, therefore, has been full of reports about President Lyndon Johnson's "little list" of men he is planning to replace. The incidence of these reports increased sharply when the departure of Defense Secretary Robert Strange McNamara was announced. Obviously, it was generally believed, the President's elbowing of Mr. McNamara was but the first step in a general changing of the palace guard.

If those usually reliable sources are to be believed, there is a certain amount of truth in this. The President has felt that certain of his Cabinet aides are not performing sufficiently in what Madison Avenue used to call the image department. He is in need now of men who not only do a good administrative job but who also sell it to the public.

For example, the President has no criticism of Secretary of State Dean Rusk's actions and reactions. Mr. Rusk has done his job with a minimum of friction at Cabinet meetings. He is self-effacing and loyal to the President. But in certain areas where Mr. Rusk was once strong—notably, the academic community—he has fallen on evil days. And he has not been able to catch the imagination of the public.

There is reason to believe, too, that if the Otepka case ever reaches any kind of open adjudication, Secretary Rusk will not come out looking well—the understatement of the year, according to those who live with its marathon proceedings.

In the domestic struggle over Viet Nam, Mr. Rusk has been able to contribute little in the way of stirring up the political troops. And it is precisely in this area that Mr. Johnson wants help. There are, moreover, continuous whispers that the President would like to set up a government of national unity—much as Abraham Lincoln chose a Democrat as his running mate in the 1864 campaign.

These whispers may be based on nothing more than the chatter of White House staffers. But it would make sense if the President appointed as the nation's chief diplomatic officer a Republican of sound reputation and strong appeal. Franklin D. Roosevelt made Henry Stimson his secretary of war and Frank Knox his secretary of the Navy for precisely the same reasons in the World War II era.

In any case, there is a consensus that Dean Rusk is not long for Washington's bureaucratic jungle. Also on the President's reputed list are Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler and Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz, both for reasons of expediency.

Secretary Fowler has never quite taken hold, in the eyes of the White House. And he has failed to make a dent on the thoughts and actions of the Congress. In such matters as selling the House-Senate leadership the 10 per cent surtax, Mr. Fowler has failed signally—not simply because Congress has not acted on the measure, but because Mr. Fowler's performance in urging passage impressed no one.

Similarly, Mr. Wirtz has not been of very much help to the President in his current difficulties with the labor movement. From Walter Reuther down, the left-wing labor leaders have shown little sympathy for Mr. Johnson's troubles in Viet Nam. And where the White House has hoped to hold the line on inflationary wage increases, on strikes that hurt both politically and economically, and on general support of the Administration, labor, by and large, has not cooperated.

The problem, when the President's list is contemplated, consists in finding replacements. So far, the move has been away from these jobs. Few men of real stature are eager to step into situations requiring grueling work and a hide that can withstand the slings and arrows of outrageous politicians. At its best, government service is for them a sacrifice. Now, to some, it seems like the outer edges of folly.

Nevertheless, the reports persist that the President is scouting for a new backfield—if not an entirely new team. If his fortunes pick up in the months to come—as many believe they will—he will have less trouble. But as of now, his "little list"—if it really exists—is just that.

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Jersey Captains Hardest Hit

U.S. Again Capitulates in New Soviet Fishing Pact

President Johnson's foreign policy of "building bridges" to Communist bloc nations has many critics—in the public, in both houses of Congress, in both political parties. Thus far, however, the only critics of this policy who can speak from personal experience are the enterprising men who make their living by fishing in the ocean waters off the New Jersey coast.

Charging that "the Russians are out to bury us and they're going to do it right here, six miles off the Jersey coast," these men complain that "the politicians sold us down the river".

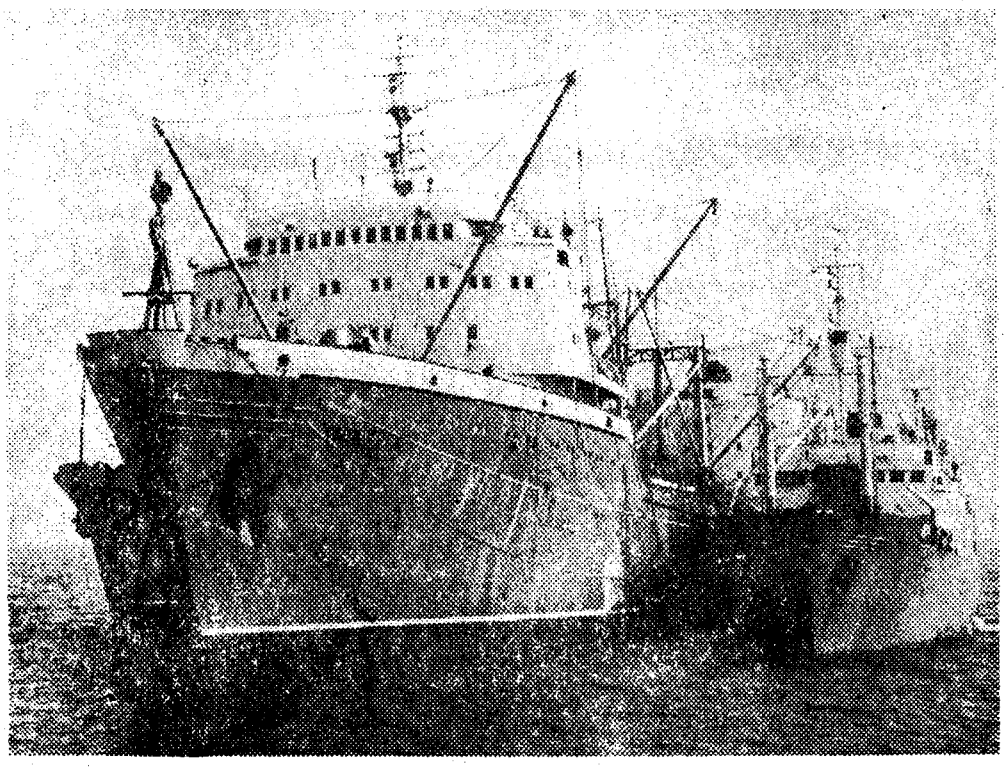
The immediate object of their attack is a pact negotiated recently by U.S. and Soviet representatives giving the Communists extraordinary concessions in fishing rights off the American East Coast. The controversial agreement, negotiated between U.S. Special Ambassador Donald McKernan and officials of the Soviet Fisheries Ministry, contains the following provisions:

- Previously limited to fishing only beyond the U.S. 12-mile limit, Soviet fishing armadas can now come in as close as six miles to fish and three miles to transfer hauls from the catch boats to the huge "factory-processing" ships; the area in question extends from Cape Cod southward to Cape Hatteras.
- In return, the Soviets agreed to limit their catches to 66,000 tons (the 1967 catch) and not to fish in an area, consisting of several hundred square miles, 100 miles off the Jersey coast between January 1 and April 1 (the "schooling" season when fish gather to spawn).
- In a related provision, the negotiators agreed that the United States and the Soviet Union would undertake joint research cruises off the East Coast, exchanging scientists as well as information on fish population and movement, shore currents, water temperatures and other bits of oceanography.

The criticisms New Jersey fishermen have of this pact are lengthy and bitter. The reason is obvious: "This is going to pose a tremendous hardship on the small dragger and dock owner in the area," says Axel Carlson, the mayor of Manasquan, a Jersey shore town directly affected by the treaty.

One of the prime complaints of the fishermen, however, demonstrates their concern for their country, rather than their own economic well-being. "The Russians have got their foot in the door again," said one, "and it's a damn shame."

Says Manasquan Mayor Axel Carlson, a chief defender of the fishermens' interests: "It's time the government took a long, hard look at what they are doing to the little guy."



This picture, reproduced from the Newark Sunday News, was taken by one of the affected Jersey fishermen and shows two Soviet trawlers off the Atlantic coast.

As a result of the treaty, they point out, "the United States is allowing the Russians to have an almost free hand in surveillance of the American coast line." The Jersey fishermen also wonder if the Soviet Union could not install a battery of missiles in one of its 20,000-ton fishing ships prowling only three miles off the U.S. coast, or if helping the Communists to gather research on the ocean floor off the coast could not be helpful to them in submarine operations.

But the fishermen's most bitter criticism is over the huge advantage the Russians have been accorded in simple terms of catching fish. And these advantages were given, the Shoremen point out, without the United States gaining reciprocal concessions for Americans to fish off the Soviet coast.

The Soviet Union claims rights to the seas surrounding it for 15 miles, while some nations, notably Peru and Chile, claim up to 200 miles of territorial waters. (The usual procedure for a nation whose water rights are infringed is for it to seize the offending ship and fine the skipper around $5,000.)

The United States, meanwhile, had only claimed three miles in territorial water and 12 miles in fishing rights; American fishermen have long pleaded — to no avail—with the government to extend the fishing zone to the edge of the Continental Shelf, thus offering the fish most important for commercial and consumer interests full protection from the highly sophisticated Russian fishing armadas.

The size of the state-owned and operated Soviet fleets has a great deal to do with the Jersey fishermen's current complaints. The biggest fishing boat in use along the New Jersey coast is approximately 150 tons dead weight, while the Soviet ships range up to 20,000 tons. The Russian fleets normally contain about 200 ships, composed of catch boats, supply ships, refueling tankers and immense factory ships which process the fish right at sea; the fleets stay at sea for months, ranging the world's international waters and performing like seagoing juggernauts.

"They move so fast you can't tell whether they're cruising or towing nets," says one Jersey skipper. "They come along 10 or 12 abreast, and they don't move for anyone." "When you see them coming," says another old-timer, "you'd better just get out of the way."

Considering the size and skill of the Soviet operation, any landlubber could guess they catch an enormous number of fish; they do. "Efficient?," describes one rhetorical Jerseyite, "they take every thing but the stones from the ocean floor."

The technique used by the Russian armada is commonly known along the coast as the "vacuum cleaner approach," or, as one Jersey fisherman explained it, "they're not satisfied until they clean everything up." The Soviets line up their trawlers, 10 or 12 abreast, lower their nets and drag the ocean floor for 60 or 70 miles along the East Coast. The results are huge catches for the Communists, lower catches for the U.S. fishermen, and a sorely depleted store of fish.

Although the Soviet catch in 1967 was only 66,000 tons, in both the two previous years it had been 200,000 tons. The reason for the drop-off, fishing experts agree, is the very fact of the previous mammoth Soviet haul; Jersey fishermen began noticing a depletion in fish stock around 1960, when Soviet efforts were first intensified in that area.

With the new U.S.-Moscow fishing pact, Mayor Carlson believes "at the rate they're working there won't be anything left. I'm convinced that in 10 years the fishing industry at the Shore will be finished."

One of the areas previously hardhit by the Soviet fishing operations was the Massachusetts coast, and the Jersey fishermen believe the political pressure for the new treaty might have come from this direction. "It was Teddy Kennedy who sold us down the river," says Tom Garvin, skipper of a trawler, noting that the U.S.-Soviet treaty does not cover waters north of Cape Cod; "the Russians were beating the hell out of Massachusetts fishermen on Georges Bank. As part of the treaty, the Russians will leave Georges Bank alone and come down here."

And when the Soviet fleets do descend on the Jersey off-shore waters this winter, coast fishermen are fully prepared for economic hardship and further depletion of their regular seasonal catches—ling, whitefish and porgies. The porgies have, in fact, become almost extinct due to Soviet operations. "I've got boats out all along the coast and they can't find porgies," says one small fleet operator. "If a captain comes in with 100 boxes of porgies now he has had a big trip—an unusual one." Meanwhile, local natives recall that the Soviets netted thousands of tons of porgies off New Jersey in one sweep a couple of years ago.

Ling and whiting are more important right now, however. As Mayor Carlson explains, "The local fisherman depends on whiting and ling to stay alive in the winter." In the face of the onrushing Soviet mechanized armadas, the Jersey fishermen are looking elsewhere for their livelihood this winter.

They do not place much faith in the treaty's limiting the Soviets to a 66,000 ton catch.

First of all, the Jerseyites point out, "anyway you count it, it means 6.6 million boxes of whiting for the Russians." Secondly, the U.S. fishermen do not expect that the Soviets will strictly adhere to the tonnage limit. "Who is going to inspect them and who ever heard of the Russians living up to a promise that didn't benefit them?" asks Mayor Carlson.

U.S. officials claim that "verification" of Soviet catches will be made by low-flying aircraft and helicopters. The Jersey fishermen are not impressed with this proposed system of counting, or even estimating, the number of tons of fish caught by the Soviets. They wonder, moreover, what the U.S. government would do if it ever suspected the Russians of going over the limit.

"Don't tell me some pantywaist game warden is going to board a Russian ship and tell them they're catching too many fish," chuckles one outspoken trawler skipper, adding his observation that the Soviets "are going to clean us out."

But the rawest rub of all in the U.S.-Soviet fishing pact, as far as the New Jersey seafarers are concerned, is the total disregard their government displayed towards the economic rights of U.S. citizens.

Not one of the three men who accompanied Special Ambassador McKernan to Moscow was from New Jersey (they were from Massachusetts, Maine and New York), nor was any official or any fisherman along the Jersey Coast consulted on the proposed treaty.

"If only the government would confer with the people directly affected," laments Mayor Carlson, "but they never consulted anyone here. It's time the government took a long, hard look at what they are doing to the little guy."

The new treaty will go into effect Jan. 1, 1968, and will be in force for one year; at that time it will be reviewed for possible continuation. The New Jersey fishermen who have been deprived of income by their government plan to make their feelings on the treaty known at the ballot box next November by helping to defeat the man whose Administration wrote the pact.

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The Bang-Jensen Case—Ten Years Later

By FREDERIC NELSON

It hardly seems 10 years since the tragedy of Bang-Jensen, the Dane who as a United Nations bureaucrat did his best to protect refugees from the Communist tyranny in Hungary from the revenge of their oppressors. He was, it is now all but certain, murdered for his heroism by the Kremlin's execution squad.

Nevertheless, 10 years have passed during which the West has done its best to unlearn the lesson which Bang-Jensen's fate might have taught it: that the Communist terror still stalks the world. We prefer to believe that it has "mellowed."

Ten years ago this month Povl Bang-Jensen, assistant secretary of the United Nation's Committee on Hungary, was summarily fired, ejected from the U.N. building by guards, forbidden to take with him his private papers and ordered not to explain to his colleagues or others why he was being thus treated. On this point the clique in the U.N. responsible for Bang-Jensen's expulsion had a point: Knowledge of their reasons for giving this dedicated public servant the bum's rush was indeed something it was in their interest to suppress.

The reason, of course, was Bang-Jensen's persistent refusal to hand over to the U.N. Secretariat the names of Hungarian refugees whom he had interviewed in Geneva as part of the research for a report on the 1956 uprising in their country. Bang-Jensen was aware of the obvious fact that, once these names were in the possession of the U.N. bureaucrats, they would be immediately available to Soviet workers at the United Nations, with probably appalling consequences to relatives of the refugees remaining in Hungary.

Against terrible pressure, in which American officials at the U.N. played an ignoble part, Bang-Jensen stood his ground. It was leaked around that he was insane, that he had acted beyond his instructions in promising secrecy to the Hungarian witnesses, that he was a contentious and troublesome character who made "persistent and unfounded charges against his superiors."

Nevertheless, the names remained in Bang-Jensen's possession until he burned them on the roof of the U.N. building in the presence of U.N. officials. The U.N. bureaucrats gave up with ill grace. "The same irresponsibility which has marked his method of handling the papers may have brought about their alteration or defacement in respects now impossible to determine."

The burning took place on Jan. 24, 1958. Bang-Jensen got a job with CARE in New York and was still working at it until his alleged "suicide" the day before Thanksgiving, 1959. Why had the Soviet terrorist decided to dispose of him?

His refusal to turn in the Hungarian refugees seems unlikely to be the sole reason. After his death it turned out that a Soviet official attached to the U.N. Secretariat had wanted out and had approached Bang-Jensen with a request that he attempt to arrange a meeting with Allen Dulles, or possibly Eisenhower. The would-be defector was reported to be ready to state that the Soviets had penetrated the U.S. intelligence apparatus and had planted agents in the U.N.

However, instead of delivering this message to Mr. Dulles by word of mouth, somebody in State submitted a full report in writing! This goof, one gathers, cooked the goose of the would-be defector. As Bang-Jensen's widow testified in 1960, the Russian in question was called back to the USSR.

A decade ago this case raised considerable anger and apprehension in the United States, except, of course, among United Nations fanatics who will countenance no criticism, justified or not, against "the last best hope on earth."

U.N. employe Bang-Jensen refused to hand over the names of Hungarian refugees to the U.N. Secretariat.

Typical of this attitude is a letter written by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt to my friend, the late Arthur McDowell, who had tried to alert Mrs. R. to what was going on. Said she: "The U.N. documents on the Bang-Jensen case are informative and convincing and what you write is nonsense and rather wicked."

Arthur, who was one of the best informed and dedicated foes of communism in the labor movement, wrote Mrs. Roosevelt again, pointing to the "wickedness" of hounding a friend of freedom out of his job and presumably to suicide. The good lady did not reply. One letter is enough attention for a U.N.-hater!

Well, so all this was a decade ago. Has the Soviet secret police organization become "more like us" since the liquidation of Bang-Jensen? "Public relations-wise," to use a barbarism, they may have learned something. I have no knowledge of any recent assassinations, although, when any active foe of communism dies, suspicion is warranted.

However, the Kremlin's activists are still going about their nefarious trade. In London last September, a group of Soviet bully boys grabbed a student scientist named Vladimir Tkachenko off the streets near the British Museum, forced him into a car and rushed him to the London airport and aboard a waiting plane. Fortunately, for the moment at least, this Shanghai gesture was observed and Scotland Yard men arrived at the airport in time to remove Tkachenko from the plane over the protests of the kidnappers.

The young scientist, whom the Soviet espionage apparatus was apparently trying to persuade to spy against the British, was detained in England for a few days for some mysterious psychological tests. Then it was announced that Dr. Tkachenko was to return to Russia "at his own request." However, the news pictures of him being loaded into the plane by the goons, assisted by a woman described as his wife, suggested that the British authorities might reasonably have insisted on better proof of the man's willingness than was given.

One interesting sidelight appeared in the Soviet version of the incident. The Soviet Embassy's indignant charge that the British had in some way abused Dr. Tkachenko contained a statement that the man was so irrational that "he failed to confirm that the woman was his wife."

Those who saw the pictures of this determined-looking "wife" helping the Soviet musclemen load the reluctant scientist onto the plane must have suspected that Tkachenko wasn't so "disturbed" as not to recognize a female *apparatchik* when he saw one.

The shocking aspect of this episode is the weakness of the British Labor government in dealing with it. As the London *Telegraph* put it, "Britain has yielded in a humiliating and grovelling fashion to a totalitarian power."

The inevitable reward for having yielded is increased totalitarian pressure. Having perpetrated this outrage on British soil, the Kremlin berated the British for attempting, even irresolutely, to interfere. More recently, after drugging a British and an American military attache in an apparent effort to steal their papers, the Soviet invented the fiction that the two men had got themselves plastered on wine and had wrecked their apartment.

It is easy to imagine a pair of officers getting drunk, although less easy to believe that men stupid enough to do so in Russia would have been selected as military attaches. In any event, the Russians, who often overdo their fictionalizing, quoted one of the men as saying, "Our conduct has besmirched the honor of our countries."

No, you would have to be a true believer to buy that one!

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High Cost of Business

From the Cincinnati *Enquirer*

Commerce magazine has detailed a dilemma facing Thompson Products in its efforts to stay afloat.

Some years ago, the company bought a $12,000 lathe, which, under federal laws, could be depreciated over a 14-year period. By the time the lathe needed replacing, Thompson had set aside $12,000, plus an additional $1,000, the resale value of the old lathe. But by then, the same lathe was selling for $35,000, and additional attachments required to keep abreast of industry changes ran the cost up to $67,000.

So the Thompson management had to come up with $54,000—the difference between $13,000 and $67,000. The $54,000 had to come from profits. But in order to clear $54,000 Thompson had to make a profit of $112,000 before taxes, and that much in profits required sales of more than $1,250,000—a lot of sales to keep three Thompson employes (one each shift) on the job.

Experiences like Thompson Products', multiplied by all the industrial establishments in the nation, could very well be a factor in Congress' reluctance to increase Thompson's federal income taxes by another 10 per cent.

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Poll of Big-City Voters Points to Nixon in 1968

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

It's a cliche to say that politics is a murderous game, but at the risk of seeming obvious, let us consider the picture of 26 Republican governors. Thinking about them, one remembers Jack London's stories of the frozen North. A pack of husky dogs—or was it wolves?—sits around in a semi-circle, their tongues hanging out, their eyes glistening. In the cold moonlight two huskies snarl menacingly at each other, waiting for an opening. Finally they tangle. One of them goes under, a foreleg snapping. In a minute the other husky is at the crippled dog's throat. The pack closes in, ready to help the victor tear up the defeated animal.

This is the Call of the Wild as Richard Nixon and George Romney square off for the New Hampshire and Wisconsin primaries. The pack—a majority of the Republican governors, plus a scattering of senators who have favorite son status—waits to see how the vote goes.

The Jack London analogy can be pushed too far. For some of the gov-

Former Vice President Nixon leads "all-voter" surveys in Chicago and Los Angeles.

ernors have declared their loyalties. Chafee of Rhode Island and Rockefeller of New York are in Romney's corner. Agnew of Maryland is still for Rockefeller, even though he has been discouraged by the object of his attentions. People close to Nixon say he has a couple of governors who will come out for him in due time. But the others are waiting in the semi-circle. There are various phrases for this, such as "hanging loose," and "refusing to be locked in." One or two are hoping the two lead dogs will both bleed to death in the titanic struggle to head the pack.

Would anyone dare predict anything before New Hampshire? Whom will Gov. Kirk of Florida favor? Or Gov. Laxalt of Nevada? Or Sen. Tower of Texas? Or Sen. John Williams of Delaware, assuming that his state rewards him with favorite son status for his excellent work in exposing skulduggery in high places? Only seeress Jeanne Dixon could say.

The polls, at this date, favor Nixon over Romney as the two top huskies get ready for New Hampshire. Not much has been made of the Hooper-McLendon Major Cities Presidential Poll, which is to be a continuing month-to-month feature. The results of the first Hooper testing deserve some display.

In an "all voters" poll of New York City, Lyndon Johnson is the favorite, with 24.4 per cent; Nelson Rockefeller comes in second, with 17.2 per cent; Bobby Kennedy has 16 per cent; Richard Nixon, 15 per cent; Ronald Reagan, 8 per cent; Sen. Charles Percy, 3.7 per cent, and George Romney, a discouraging laggard with 3.5 per cent. The New York City poll for "Republicans alone" gives Richard Nixon the lead with 36.1 per cent. Nelson Rockefeller is second in the Republican voters' poll with 24.6 per cent; Reagan is third, with 13.1 per cent; Lyndon Johnson gets 9.8 per cent from the Republican voters; Bobby Kennedy, 3.3 per cent; with Romney running behind two Democrats with 1.6 per cent.

On his home grounds Romney reverses the order of things. He runs behind both Lyndon Johnson and Bobby Kennedy in the Detroit "all voters" poll, but in the "Republicans alone" vote he gets a whopping 41 per cent, with Nixon trailing at 18 per cent.

Romney fades badly in Chicago and in Los Angeles. Surprisingly, Nixon leads the "all voters" poll in Chicago, with 23.7 per cent. Bobby Kennedy is second in this category, with 18.9 per cent. LBJ finishes in third place, with 17.9 per cent. Romney gets only 2.6 per cent. In the "Republicans alone" Chicago poll, Nixon runs away with a 44.9 figure; Percy is second, with 16.9; Romney ties Nelson Rockefeller with 5.1.

In Los Angeles, Nixon again leads the "all voters" poll, with 19.4 per cent; Bobby Kennedy is second, with 17.6; LBJ, third with 17.3; Rockefeller, fourth with 12.2; Reagan, fifth (and on his own heath) with 11.8, and Romney next, with 6.5. Nixon wins the "Republicans alone" poll in L.A., with 37.5; Reagan is second, with 19.9; Romney gets 7.4.

So Nixon turns out, on balance, to be the big city favorite. But New Hampshire is rural, and Romney is a good face-to-face campaigner. So the Republican governors and the favorite son senators still wait like the Jack London huskies to see who leads the pack.

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TRY IT THERE—"West Berliners did not have much sympathy for eight Americans picketing the United States ambassador to West Germany in a protest against the war in Viet Nam. A crowd of shoppers and vendors from a market shouted angry remarks at the demonstrators. These people live close enough to The Wall to know what communism means. They obviously did not appear to think that the American demonstrators do. One of the West Berliners, a burly, middle-aged man, yelled what strikes us as an appropriate remark: 'Go over to East Berlin and try to demonstrate!'"—From the Indianapolis *Star*

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JOE DiMAGGIO, famed baseball great, just back from a front-line tour of Viet Nam, marvels over the "guts and determination" of our fighting men. "The morale in the field and in the hospitals is unbelievable," DiMaggio says. "These are just 18, 19 and 20-year-old kids, you know, away from home and fighting. We visited many of the wounded in hospitals and most of them told us they'd rejoin their units in the field. That's the big thing—they *want* to rejoin them."

BOOK NOTES

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That we take note of a book here does not necessarily mean we fully endorse it nor even that it is written from a conservative viewpoint. It means merely that we regard it as one which may have an impact on political thinking, and accordingly may be of interest to our readers.

THE EDITORS

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A VERY STRANGE SOCIETY by Allen Drury (Trident, 465 pages, $6.95).

"After a year of research, Drury spent two months soaking up South Africa, interviewing a representative spectrum of whites and blacks—including Prime Ministers Verwoerd and Vorster, Zulu Chief Albert Luthuli, Progressive party leader Mrs. Helen Suzman, writers and such fervent anti-apartheidists as novelist Alan Paton. He spoke with black insurrectionists and with members of the Indian minority; he toured Bantustans and black workers' 'townships,' recording conversations and impressions. The finished mosaic reflects the incredible complexity, frustration and anxiety with which South Africans of all colors live. . . .

"Drury's concluding pages sum up the tone of his book: 'If it has made you as confused and uncertain as the visitor about a most complex and difficult situation, then the effort has been well-spent: because with uncertainty may come humility, with humility understanding, with understanding compassion, and with compassion the patience indispensable if the Republic's problems are ever to be worked out in a way that will satisfy both her peoples and the conscience of her sincere and decent critics.'"

—S. K. Oberbeck in **Time** magazine

THE ROMNEY RIDDLE by Gerald Plas (Berwyn Publishers, 489 Henry St., Detroit, Mich. 48201. 126 pages, 75¢. Order directly from publisher.)

"**The Romney Riddle** is a book which gets behind the image and reveals the man. It makes it clear there is no doubt that Romney is a master publicist. His success at American Motors is said to be largely a matter of luck and capitalization on other men's ideas. At the same time the book places the blame for the current dark picture of the Ramblers squarely on Romney's shoulders.

"Romney is portrayed as a man of dedication and temper. He believes in his own myth and rides roughshod, when he can, over any and all in his way, as was evidenced by his characterization of Sen. Charles Percy (R.-Ill.) as a 'political opportunist,' merely because he was being mentioned for the White House which Romney regards as his very own. There is detailed exploration of Romney's record, his views or lack of views, his political ruthlessness against members of his own party who dared oppose him in his state, and his love affair with the Eastern kingmakers.

"The revelation of a Romney as a politician rather than a man explains why the Detroit **News**, which was the first to hail him as presidential material, has now called on him to get out of the race. **The Romney Riddle** is something more than a campaign tract because its author, Gerald O. Plas, is intimately familiar with Michigan politics and with its governor. He entered politics in boyhood as a page in the Michigan state senate, was captain of pages in Michigan's constitutional convention where Romney was a delegate, and has worked in many Michigan campaigns where he had the opportunity of observing Romney's tactics. He has served as Congressional Relations Director for the College Young Republicans and has been a national director of Young Americans for Freedom, a group promoting conservative thinking.

"His book is strong meat, but if you can't digest it, don't sit down at the political table—unless you bring a long spoon as behooves one who would sit down with the me-tooers and so-called liberals."—From the foreword by Walter Trohan

WORKERS' PARADISE LOST by Eugene Lyons (Funk & Wagnalls, 386 pages, $6.95).

"The overriding importance of Eugene Lyons' all-inclusive weighing of the Soviet 'accomplishment' cannot be exaggerated. His book is subtitled: 'Fifty Years of Soviet Communism: A Balance Sheet.' It is as comprehensive as any produced by a reputable accountant, but there the comparison stops, for it is also completely fascinating reading. Mr. Lyons' easy journalistic style, backed up by his deserved acceptance as one of our foremost authorities on communism, make this an indispensable book for any American who would fairly appraise the great struggle of our time.

"There is no phase of the Soviet experiment that Mr. Lyons leaves untouched. He answers graphically, intensively and with thorough and scholarly documentation every question that may have occurred to any about the Russian tyranny.

"**Workers' Paradise Lost** is the hard reality, stripped of all the propaganda myths of the past 50 years, myths now rebuilding and again flooding the world as part of the anniversary 'celebration.' This book should be read by every American and, above all, should be required reading in every high school and college in our land."

—Rosalie Gordon in **America's Future**

ACCESSORIES AFTER THE FACT: The Warren Commission, the Authorities and the Report by Sylvia Meagher (Bobbs, 477 pages, $8.50).

The author has made herself an unofficial chronicler and indexer of the material about the Kennedy assassination and has examined the Warren report and its 26 volumes of hearings and exhibits. In this book she charges "discrepancies, distortions and misrepresentation of crucial points of evidence" and demands a new investigation.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY 1854-1966 by George H. Mayer (Oxford University Press, 604 pages, paperback, $2.95).

Originally issued in 1964, but brought up to date in this edition, Mr. Mayer's book is a massive and impressively documented study of the history of the Republican party. Prof. Mayer is on the staff of Purdue University.

MY FIFTEEN MONTHS IN GOVERNMENT, by Moise Tshombe (Bookmailer, 112 pages, $4. Order directly from publisher.)

"In this remarkable little volume, Moise Tshombe has given us an interim political testament that establishes him as Africa's most realistic and genuinely African leader, while it simultaneously reveals the reasons for his inability to retain power. Written in a simple, sincere and occasionally delightful droll manner, the book concentrates exclusively on Tshombe's 15-month tenure as Congolese prime minister, leaving his complete memoirs for a later time. It was Tshombe's misfortune to be a too-successful prime minister, thus incurring the enmity of President Kasavubu and occasioning his downfall. . . ."

—By J. Bernard Burnham in **National Review**

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Old Programs Never Die

Our Obsolete Welfare State

By GEORGE CHAMPION

An ironic and baffling aspect of the recent riots is that many of the cities hardest hit had the most active anti-poverty programs. They had received larger-than-average shares of the billions of dollars dispensed each year by the federal government to aid the underprivileged:

- Detroit has been alloted $100 million in federal funds for urban renewal since 1960, and is spending $30 million this year alone on its poverty programs.
- Newark has received more than $25 million in federal anti-poverty funds in the past three years, and is spending about a half-million dollars a month on welfare programs.
- New Haven has been granted federal urban renewal funds amounting to about $800 for every man, woman and child—a figure almost 20 times greater than New York City's.

How did it happen, then, that some of the worst riots occurred in cities where the most money had been spent?

"Because," reply some theorists, "not *enough* money was spent."

They seem to be saying that if huge doses of a medicine fail, we should try more of the same and maybe the patient will eventually recover.

Considering the history of our Welfare State, though, one is inclined to doubt that it would be wise to count on stimulating the lagging heartbeat of our cities with still further massive transfusions of federal money. I am strongly persuaded that money alone is not the answer.

To help the poor at home, Americans are now putting up $15 billion a year in federal taxes. To help the poorer nations of the world, they are putting up another $5 billion. And this, of course, is wholly apart from the money spent on waging the war in Viet Nam and maintaining U.S. troops in Europe and elsewhere. The net result is that this year we face a budget deficit approaching $30 billion—a deficit unprecedented except for the years of World War II.

Even as prosperous a nation as ours cannot do everything at once. We must inevitably make choices. The riots this past summer underscored the fact that a reappraisal of national priorities is long overdue. Our Welfare State, based largely on the priorities of 20 years ago, is hopelessly obsolete. We need new, imaginative, result-oriented approaches to welfare—approaches designed to take full advantage of the strengths of private business and to give every individual a stake in our society. The eminent Negro psychologist, Dr. Kenneth Clark, expressed it well when he said: "People who have something to lose don't riot."

Let's look for a moment at some of the changes that have taken place since the Welfare State's priorities were first established. None is more significant than the enormous upward shift in family income. Thirty years ago, scarcely 20 per cent of U.S. families had annual incomes of $6,000 or more. Ten years ago, this figure had risen to 40 per cent. Today, well over half our families are above $6,000, and by 1975 more than two-thirds will be in this category.

Yet many government programs are still geared to an earlier era when incomes were lower and needs were greatly different. Public funds are being used to subsidize private endeavors where the majority of participants now have average or above-average incomes. For example, urban renewal programs have chiefly aided Americans in the middle-income ranges.

The farm program is a prime case in point. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the more successful a farmer becomes, the more he stands to receive from the government. Over the years, the Agriculture Department has increased its costs, its personnel and its services—but it has done little about trying progressively to lower price supports and reduce controls so as to promote the kind of freer competition that would be most beneficial to the farmer himself, the consumer and the nation at large. If we assume depression as a normal condition—as the farm program does—then the farmer will always need help and so will almost everybody else.

"Our present impersonal mass approach to welfare," says Mr. Champion, "'writes off' the individual as being indolent, incompetent or unworthy of development."

Regrettably, very little thought has been given to whether existing programs for farmers and others might be modified, reduced or eliminated to make way for new ones that rate higher today on the national priority scale.

It has been well said that if a monument were erected in Washington to every government program that has been discontinued in the past three decades, the landscape of the nation's capital would not be perceptibly altered!

This phenomenon moved the Washington *Post* to comment recently that "Obsolete federal programs, like old soldiers, never seem to die."

Yet the significant economies in government are likely to come, not from turning off the lights in the East Room, but from intelligent review of goals and the programs designed to meet them. This is the essence of the "programming-planning-budgeting" system which is frequently talked about in Washington these days and which many private corporations have been following for some time. Surely no area is more urgently in need of review than public welfare.

To the authors of our Constitution who designed the matrix of democracy, promoting the "general welfare" was an inspiring ideal. Today, "welfare" has become a dirty word. The average citizen never expects to rely on welfare and does not have much respect for those who do. The sprawling federal welfare empire and the layers of local and state relief operations are regarded as the "enemy" by many of the very people they have been trying to help. Welfare recipients have organized into unions to press their "rights," and have even staged protest demonstrations against the system.

Many of the programs, techniques and theories of our present approach to welfare have turned out to have exactly the opposite effect from what was intended. This has often been the case with the attempt to abolish poverty through building new apartment houses for the poor. Unfortunately, it has proved much easier to rehabilitate housing than to change people. New high-rise apartment developments may go up in an area, yet, after several years, the neighborhood will have reverted to the old slum conditions.

What has happened is that we have tried to enclose the problem of the poor in brick and steel, rather than working from the inside out and concerning ourselves primarily with the nature and goals of the individual. Admission to low-rent housing projects has been determined by income—the lowest income. As a result, families with the greatest potential for fighting their way clear of poverty have been denied entrance to the new apartments. With their homes torn down, they have been forced to live elsewhere. The neighborhood thus levels out economically at its lowest common denominator and becomes a permanent slum.

The same lack of consideration for the individual exists at many levels of our present welfare system. Family patterns among the poor have been crumbling as a result of the rule that only fatherless families can qualify for the Aid to Dependent Children program. The program thus has encouraged fathers to leave home because the government will pay a fatherless family more money than the fathers could earn at their unskilled jobs.

In New York City, more than three-fourths of the 700,000 people on welfare are mothers and their dependent children. A pattern of community-supported illegitimacy has resulted from a situation in which fathers have found it economically beneficial to desert their families. Three out of four children born onto the relief rolls are illegitimate. Last year in New York, 62 unwed mothers had their tenth, eleventh or twelfth child on relief.

Our present impersonal mass approach to welfare fails to take into account the potential ambition and economic vigor of the average individual. Instead, it "writes off" the individual as being indolent, incompetent or unworthy of development.

Personally, I believe we cannot afford to write off anybody. I am deeply convinced that if we are to make significant strides in the War on Poverty, we must gear our efforts to realize the great potential of the individual. We must concentrate on the development of his fullest capabilities as an independent being, rather than a ward of the federal government. Above all, we must emphasize private participation, as opposed to total government participation, with private entities such as the business community shouldering the major burden of helping individuals to help themselves.

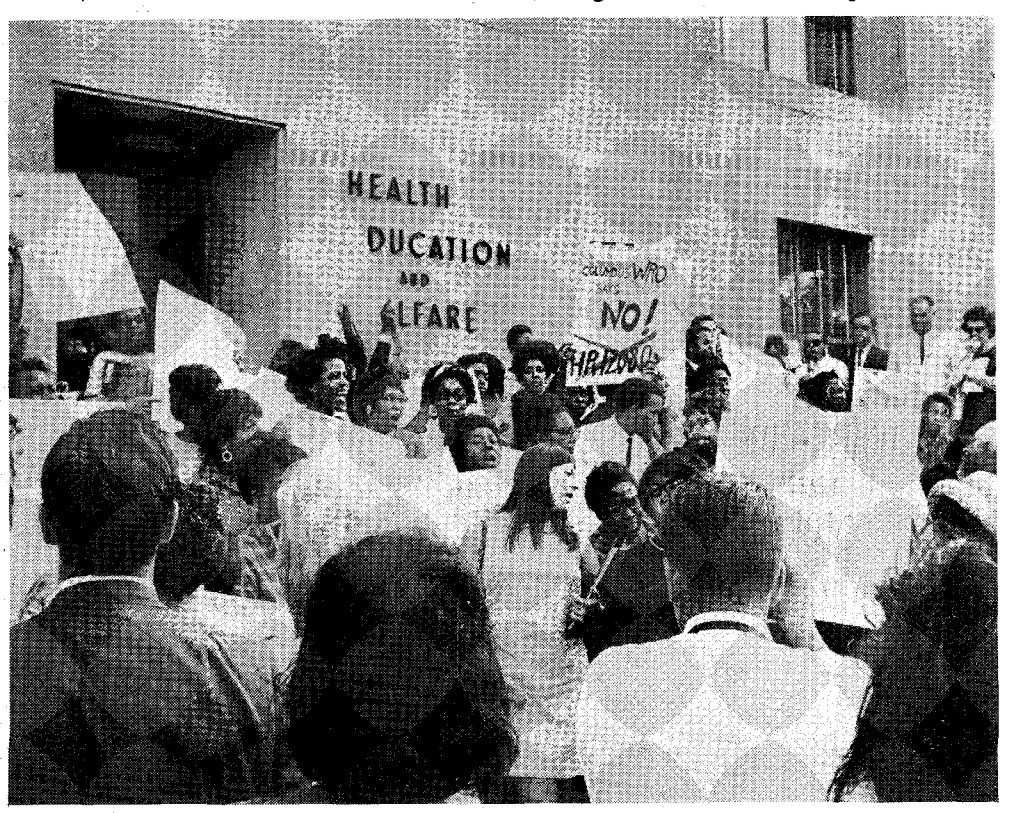
The approach I'm suggesting might be called "incentive welfare," and involves three primary elements: motivation, training and job opportunity.

The "incentive" approach to welfare puts great stock in those old-fashioned —but today largely neglected—ideas of individual responsibility, personal character, and the belief that every man is in fact, his "brother's keeper." This basic philosophy is well expressed, I think, in former President Eisenhower's description of how he and his brothers worked their way off a Kansas farm to careers of achievement.

The former chief executive writes in his new book, *At Ease*:

"All the younger brothers sent Edgar funds on occasion, but he worked

Mr. Champion is chairman of the board of the Chase Manhattan Bank. This article is excerpted from a speech he delivered at the Grinnell College Convocation, Grinnell, Iowa, Oct. 29, 1967.



A contingent of a "Mothers March on Washington" group demonstrate in front of the HEW building during a lobbying campaign against stricter welfare controls.

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at the University of Michigan and essentially financed his own education. My appointment to West Point assured an education for me with no drain on household finances. Ed, remembering the help he received, financed Earl's education at the University of Washington. Milton, by writing for magazines, correcting English papers, and playing in a dance band, was able to pay his costs at Kansas State University. . . . This willingness of brothers to aid each other was one consequence of the guidance we received as youngsters."

Most of those trapped in our city slums lack the elements that were present in the Eisenhower success equation as well as the vital, family stability that provided the foundation for their success. However, the fact that these things are lacking does not mean they cannot be supplied. It does not mean that those in the private sector cannot do something, well beyond what the bureaucratic state has been able to accomplish, toward filling out this formula for improving the lot of our underprivileged groups.

Mrs. Etta Mae Jones, of St. Louis, Mo., addresses the welfare recipients in the Senate Office Building during the same demonstration.

As I see it, motivation is the indispensable first step.

Not long ago, a European newspaper correspondent, interviewing residents of a Chicago slum, asked one teen-age girl what she wanted to do when she grew up.

"To draw," she replied.

The newsman, pleasantly surprised to find artistic interests in such unlikely surroundings, pursued his inquiry: "What kind of pictures do you like to draw?" "Not pictures," replied the girl. "Drawing welfare like mother does."

To break this mold of chronic dependency, private business must reach out imaginatively to the inexperienced teen-ager and the unemployed adult, and persuade them that it can offer a path to a better life. It must give them an incentive to leave the "security" of their isolated but familiar neighborhood for the gains that will follow upon fitting themselves into society at large.

This may mean setting up mobile employment offices within walking distance of disadvantaged areas. It may mean providing extensive counseling services to ease the difficulties of entering the working world. Whatever it means, business must be willing to make contact with members of minority groups and encourage them to acquire marketable skills.

This is the second step in "incentive welfare"—education and training. And it is inextricably linked up with the third—job opportunity. We have to look upon training and jobs as two aspects of the same problem.

The thing ghetto people want most is a job.

Mayor Lindsay found this in Harlem. Mayor Yorty found it in Watts. Mayor Cavanaugh found it in Detroit.

And there are jobs going begging today.

Of the 10,000 job openings listed each month by the New York State Labor Department, six out of 10 go unfilled.

Across the nation, there are more than one million job openings—at the very time when almost three million people are unemployed.

This highlights our predicament: no skills for available jobs, and no jobs for available skills.

To qualify for existing jobs and those that will become available in the future, the unemployed need training. The answer does not lie with the nation's public schools, although their improvement is greatly needed.

The answer, in my judgment, lies with business and industry.

This area of training is one where business is uniquely equipped to make an effective contribution. More than that, it is one where business cannot afford *not* to contribute. For beyond the social needs so obvious in today's atmosphere of tension are the economic imperatives of providing a continuous and growing supply of trained manpower and womanpower to meet the requirements of the future.

Business is already doing a great deal. In Philadelphia, some 600 companies are working with the Rev. Leon Sullivan's Opportunities Industrialization Center which, in the past three years, has trained more than 3,500 disadvantaged young men and women for responsible jobs.

In St. Louis, the McDonnell Douglas Corp. has demonstrated that in just four months, people with no high school diploma or special skills can be prepared for work in a production system that demands high accuracy and precise workmanship. In our own bank, we have well over 50 separate training programs, including one for high school students from high "dropout" areas which provides part-time jobs as long as they continue their studies and then permanent employment if they make the grade.

Effective as these individual programs are, I believe that the ultimate promise of vocational training can be realized only from an over-all approach. Groups of businessmen in New York and Chicago and Des Moines and elsewhere should combine their resources and make the initiative in citywide cooperative ventures in basic education.

In its initial stage, such a program would aim at bringing job applicants up to required levels of "employability" by improving their reading, spelling and calculating skills and their work habits.

In its next stage, this program would provide even more on-the-job training than is being done now so that all workers would have greater opportunity to advance to higher positions.

Finally, this program would include a continuing research effort to devise means of using more effectively in vocational training the programmed learning techniques, teaching machines and audio-visual aids that are being developed mainly for elementary and secondary schools.

Such a blueprint, responsibly and creatively carried out, would have the great advantage of linking the varied elements of vocational training in a planned program of growth.

Training is an essential part of any job-creation program, but it is futile if there are no jobs at the end of the line. And in each of the next 10 years, we must find jobs for some 1.5 million persons who will enter the labor force—an increase of 50 per cent in the rate over the past decade.

How these jobs must be created is no secret. Under our free-opportunity system, jobs come into being because somebody sees an opportunity to earn a profit and is willing to make a capital investment. They are not free. They cost between $15,000 and $20,000 apiece in capital investment.

Our ability to provide more jobs in the years ahead will depend decisively on our capacity as a nation to form capital—both human and material capital. Any society can add to its stock of capital only through savings. Thus, to satisfy the mounting demand for jobs, we must provide adequate incentives to savers and see to it that the government does not drain off savings in the form of wasteful federal spending and taxes so high they smother incentive.

The trends in this decade of the '60s are illuminating. While the population of the United States has grown 10 per cent, the federal civilian bureaucracy has increased 25 per cent, over-all federal spending 83 per cent, and non-defense expenditures almost 100 per cent.

Among these non-defense items are several that certainly don't strike the layman as essential. For example, I am thinking about the use of federal grants to beautify Berkeley, Calif., with a municipal putting green; to landscape the city hall at Overland Park, Kan.; to construct a two-acre lagoon at El Centro, Calif. I am thinking about tax funds appropriated in the name of poor children in such high-income communities as Grosse Point, Mich., and Beverly Hills, Calif.

As a banker, I'm very much concerned that unless we bring government expenditures under control through an intelligent ordering of national priorities, we face a continuing budget crisis with periodic tax increases and persistent inflation. We cannot solve our fiscal problems by preaching economy and practicing extravagance.

Instead of trying to prod Congress into action on raising taxes and continuing heavy spending, the Administration should be proposing new formulas for reducing non-essential expenditures that will bring the budget—and the economy—under some semblance of control.

There are many areas where reductions and postponements could be made. Medical research, a recent investigation disclosed, is wasting a vast amount and as a result is an especially inviting target for a cutback. So is the space program with its expenditures of over $5 billion. So, too, is the broad range of government subsidies, both direct and indirect.

At a time when the nation is so heavily committed abroad and at home, there is no conceivable justification for the kind of wasteful spending associated with the business-as-usual approach. Yet, all too often, this is what we get from our obsolete Welfare State, dedicated as it is to the proposition that the nation, particularly the cities, can be run from Washington if Congress will only authorize bigger and bigger appropriations.

Perhaps the disadvantaged of a half-century ago were more fortunate than those of today. On our own Illinois farm, we did not have any bureaucrats telling us that the government was going to take care of all our needs. We realized that we had to make it pretty much on our own, so we did the best we could and things seemed to work out all right.

There is more than a casual connection, I suspect, between the lack of individual incentive characteristic of our present welfare approach and the tottering superstructure of our welfare system. The relationship underscores one of the fundamental questions of our time: Whether the individual will be able to maintain his identity and purpose in an age which, through rapid technological progress, has created awesomely large and impersonal institutions in all areas of society?

It is essential to our way of life that the individual not only survive but strengthen his control over his own destiny. Even as technology has seemed at times to overwhelm him, it is also offering opportunities for human progress eclipsing those of any other time. At the same time, it has raised the level of personal aspirations—and this is no less important.

For the strength of a nation is a compound of the aspirations, abilities, energies and character of its people. Any program of foreign or domestic economic aid, or rehabilitation, or stimulation or whatever one chooses to call it, that does not take this into account must be considered obsolete. It cannot help but prove more of a burden than a benefit to the people it is intended to serve.

That's why I suggest that the "incentive welfare" approach—concentrating on motivation, training and jobs—offers our best hope for helping people to realize their opportunities more vividly and to pursue them more consciously. Through this approach, I believe we can deal more effectively with the problems of our cities. For the sake of our nation, I am convinced that we *must* do so.

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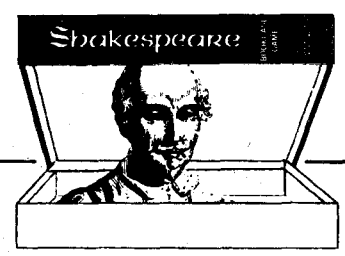

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The Growing Threat To Private Pension Plans

By RAYMOND MOLEY

Sometime between the writing of this piece and the adjournment of Congress, amendments to the Social Security system will come out of a House-Senate conference committee, be passed by both houses and signed by the President. Under the law the benefits now paid to 20-odd million people will rise sharply and progressively over a period of years. The annual tax return from employers will also rise over the years from the aggregate of about $25.7 billion paid in 1967.

But while the old folks will rejoice over this holiday news, there is bound to be rising concern among the several times as many people who will be paying for their elders' security and, ultimately, their own. There will also be rising concern among employers who have to find the matching money in their earnings.

Under the present law, the maximum Social Security bite from each workers' pay is $290 annually. Under the new law, at the beginning it will be somewhere between $334 (House bill) and $352 (Senate bill). By 1987 it will rise to between $448 and $626. And employers will, of course, match these sums. But if the past is any guide to the future actions of Congress, there will be upward revisions every two years.

I am not concerned in this piece with the general question of the rights and wrongs of the Social Security system. But here I wish to raise a question that has had altogether too little attention in the past except among responsible employers. Specifically, this is the danger to all private pension plans in the rising costs of Social Security. This is especially true of those plans which have been adopted largely as the result of collective bargaining with unions in the years since World War II.

This was the subject of a very thoughtful address recently by Robert C. Tyson, chairman of the finance committee of the U.S. Steel Corp. and also, during the past three years, chairman of the Tax Foundation. His warning was that because of the large bite out of earnings taken by the government in Social Security taxes there will be less available for benefits and savings paid by workers and/or companies, such as life and medical insurance, sickness and unemployment benefits, as well as pensions and annuities.

Tyson devoted his major attention to company-managed pension plans. For these plans are endangered not only by the increasing burden of Social Security taxes, but by continuous efforts by government to investigate and regulate such plans, sometimes amounting to downright harassment.

The cost of employe benefits in the iron and steel industry rose from 4 cents per hour of a worker's time in 1940 to 62 cents per hour in 1966. Because of changes in 1967, this has risen to 66 cents today. These benefits include the employer's part of Social Security, supplemental unemployment benefits, savings and vacation plan benefits, medical and health insurance and pension costs.

The total employment cost per worker per hour has risen from 90.5 cents in 1940 to $1.75 in 1949 to an estimated $4.82 in 1967.

Presumably the pension plans originated in collective bargaining because as long ago as 1949 it was evident that retired workers would not get enough under Social Security, and thus there was need for supplemental pensions from the companies. Such private pensions have covered more and more people, until the number now is about 30 million. The assets in the reserves behind these plans are in the aggregate something more than $100 billion.

There are many advantages in the private pension plans that are not present in Social Security, although Tyson and probably all members of management in companies that have them assume not only the permanence but also the desirability of continuing the government's plan. Their argument is that in such a dual security system the private part should not be jeopardized by the government.

Some of the advantages are that they are a part of an enlightened system of free enterprise, that they are voluntary in the sense that they come from the desires of the workers themselves. They are more flexible than the monolithic Social Security system. Their reserves are invested in wealth- and job-producing enterprises. And they are work-related, with every employe able to see them as an equity against the needs of his retirement.

Whatever endangers them in the rising costs of Social Security is a threat to the security of every worker who now enjoys them.

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Sales Far Below Predictions

The End of the Manchester Book Affair

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

The year's sales are closing now on William Manchester's *The Death of a President.* Compared to the buying forecasts, the incredibly ballyhooed book turns out to be a resounding flop. In the publishing world it has descended from its claim of success with the quiet thump and easy grace of an ox falling off a roof.

Without the book clubs, the hardcover take has been about 600,000. Fine Harper & Row, like all reputable publishers, normally accept booksellers' returns of all unsold copies. Harper & Row limited the returns on Manchester's book to 10 per cent. Then bargain sale offers caved in the roof.

Next to the Bible, the all-time American most-sold book is Dr. Benjamin Spock's *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care.* It has sold 18 million since published in 1946. *Gone With the Wind* sold one million copies in the first six months.

Last years' two top sellers were Norman F. Dacey's *How to Avoid Probate* (575,000 that one introductory year), and Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood* (320,000) in hard covers and without the clubs. Incredibly, in all forms our public and institutions now buy more than two billion books a year—10 annually for every man, woman and child in our population.

The Manchester book pretended that its purpose was history, and the Kennedy family stated in court that it was "unimpaired historically" by the family's belated deletions. Manchester got famous (and rich) on the Kennedy-commissioned book, proving again that it's silly to buy golden eggs when you can buy with sycophancy the goose that lays them, a constant trick of Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

Former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, in turn, again displayed his famous regard for the sanctity of law in his immortal command to Look's **general counsel: "Tear up the contract with Manchester and forget the whole business."**

The whole shoddy affair, and the book itself, became merely the kind of news that makes the time go fast under the hair driers. But the shoddiest thing of all was the claim on both sides that this is history.

It's commonly agreed (and required) that in a reputable history the writer does not permit his prejudices, sycophancy, or self-interest to intrude.

Hemingway, no sycophant, once observed on this point that "a writer can make a nice career by espousing a political personage or political cause and making a profession of it. He may even have a million copies of his books printed by the government or any of the other rewards the boys dream about."

It was admittedly a blurb book on President Kennedy that landed Manchester the job for the Kennedy family. Both the Kennedy purpose and the Manchester product were tainted from start to finish. Again and again Manchester's so-called research was revealed to be utterly phony and selected to serve his purpose, most lately by Texas Gov. John Connally (November 24) in *Life* magazine.

This wasn't history. It was a publicity project that backfired.

The Kennedys should never have commissioned a book about the assassination in the first place. There are more acceptable ways to keep our memories active about President Kennedy. And the end result was that when more and more people who were informed read what was produced for the Kennedys, the banality of this fabricated literary chicken came home to roost.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Secret Union Ballot

By SEN. PAUL FANNIN (R.-Ariz.)

During the past 10 years the number of man-days of idleness caused by strikes in this nation has been increasing almost constantly. In 1967 they totaled 16.7 million. In 1966 they were 25 million, an increase of 50 per cent in 10 years. And for the first nine months of 1967 they already total over 28 million, so that this year they will far exceed last year. Of course, not all of these increased man-days of idleness are the result of long, drawn-out strikes in which the worker has lost far more than he gained. But I would venture the guess that the increases are roughly proportionate. If this be so, then each year these titanic struggles between labor and industry are creating more and more "forgetten men," more and more workers who are denied a freedom of choice over their own economic fate.

I do not offer the secret ballot strike vote as a panacea for all the ills of labor-management relations in this country. But I do offer it as a simple and practical measure for freeing the workingmen and women of America from this phase of the bondage of union dictatorship. The time has come to enfranchise them at these critical junctures in their economic lives. The time has come to let the "forgotten man" in the modern strike show 'em who really is the boss when the economic chips are down and his livelihood is at stake.

Visitors Center?

By REP. GEORGE GOODLING (R.-Pa.)

The House recently passed the National Visitor Center Facilities Act of 1967. The legislation authorizes the secretary of interior, in consultation with the General Services Administration, to enter into a lease arrangement with the Washington Terminal Co. for use of Union Station as a National Visitor's Center. There probably isn't anyone who would say this is not a needed and desirable project. There are those, however, who question the wisdom of attempting this project at this time. The British pound has just been devalued, the purchasing power of our dollar is declining, our national debt has reached an all-time high, the need for new taxes is heard continuously, and we face a deficit for fiscal '68 of $30 to $35 billion. In short, the financial picture is badly cluded. To be sure, we were told this would not cost the taxpayers a single dime. I assume the same argument was made when the Washington Stadium and Dulles Airport were authorized. As things have turned out, the stadium does not pay for the interest on the investment, and Dulles has annual deficits. In spite of the desirability of the National Visitor Center project, it is one more luxury I thought should be delayed.

In Defense of Seniority

By REP. JOHN ERLENBORN (R.-Ill.)

For now, at least, the surtax is dead.

This episode leads me to a point which might be overlooked. Much has been said and written about the seniority system in Congress. Under this system, a senator or representative starts with few prerogatives except the right to listen to debate and to have his vote counted.

As the year go by, his influence increase until—if his arteries and his constituents hold out—he may become chairman of a committee.

This does not mean that he is smart, or will make a good chairman, or is wholly honest, or has no personal axe to grind. Many have attained chairmanships of committees with one of these faults. A few have made it with all of them.

And when this happens, members of Congress make speeches suggesting that the system be changed; journalists write about the evils of the seniority system; and editorialists suggest that some other way should be found to assure Congress of the kind of leadership is needs.

These critics contend that Congress ought to be able to elect its chairmen and all srots of ways have been suggested for conducting the elections. I agree. Members of a legislative body such as ours should be capable of making these decisions and, if they were left to their own devices, I believe they would.

Throughout the lifetime of our Republic, however, legislators have not been left to their own devices. The executive has infringed upon Congress' prerogatives (and when the executive has let up, the judiciary has stepped in with some legislating of its own).

This leads me to this point:

As far as I can determine, Congress could not have withstood Administration pressure for the surtax under any other system.

Or, to put it another way, in an elective system for choosing chairmen, Rep. Wilbur Mills either would not have been chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in 1967 or (if he were) would not expect to be chairman in 1969.

Any Democratic Administration has enough Democratic representatives under its thumb to assure this, and of course, the same would be true of the Republicans.

Hence, whatever the failings of the seniority system—and they are many—it appears to be the only way that the national legislature can keep a degree of independence.

Economy Move Thwarted

The following vote was on a motion, offered by Rep. George Mahon (D.-Tex.), to accept a limitation of $136.2 billion on total federal spending for fiscal 1968. Another motion, sponsored by Rep. Frank Bow (R.-Ohio) and supported by most House conservatives, would have limited fiscal 1968 spending to $134.6 billion—$1.6 billion less. The House, however, in the vote recorded below chose the higher spending figure. Thus an "aye" vote is a vote against trimming spending by $1.6 billion; a "no" vote is a vote for cutting spending by $1.6 billion.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 209

Adams, Addabbo, Albert, Anderson (Tenn.), Andrews (Ala.), Ashley, Aspinall, Barrett, Bevill, Bingham, Blanton, Blatnik, Boggs, Boland, Brademas, Brasco, Brinkley, Brooks, Brown (Calif.), Burke (Mass.), Burleson, Burton (Calif.), Byrne (Pa.), Cabell, Carey, Casey, Celler, Clark, Cohelan, Corman, Culver, Daddario, Daniels, Davis (Ga.), Dawson, de la Garza, Delaney, Dent, Diggs, Dingell, Donohue, Dorn, Dow, Dowdy, Downing, Dulski, Eckhardt, Edmondson, Edwards (Calif.), Edwards (La.), Eilberg, Evans (Colo.), Everett, Evins (Tenn.), Fallon, Farbstein, Fascell, Feighan, Fisher, Flood, Flynt, Foley, Ford, Wm., Fraser, Friedel, Fulton (Tenn.), Fuqua, Galifianakis, Gallagher, Garmatz, Gettys, Giaimo, Gibbons, Gilbert, Gonzalez, Gray, Green (Ore.), Green (Pa.), Griffiths, Hagan, Hamilton, Hanley, Hanna, Hansen (Wash.), Hathaway, Hawkins, Hays, Hebert, Hechler (W. Va.), Hicks, Holifield, Holland, Howard, Hull, Hungate, Ichord, Irwin, Jacobs, Joelson, Johnson (Calif.), Jones (Ala.), Jones (Mo.), Jones (N.C.), Karsten, Karth, Kazen, Kee, Kelly, King (Calif.), Kirwan, Kluczynski, Kornegay, Kyros, Landrum, Leggett, Long (La.), Long (Md.), McCarthy, McFall, McMillan, Machen, Madden, Mahon, Matsunaga, Meeds, Miller (Calif.), Mills, Minish, Mink, Monagan, Montgomery, Moorhead, Morgan, Morris (N.M.), Moss, Multer, Murphy (Ill.), Murphy (N.Y.), Natcher, Nedzi, Nix, O'Hara (Ill.), O'Hara (Mich.), Olsen, O'Neal Ga.), O'Neill (Mass.), Passman, Patman, Patten, Pepper, Perkins, Philbin, Pickle, Pike, Poage, Price (Ill.), Pryor, Pucinski, Purcell, Randall, Rees, Reuss, Rhodes (Pa.), Roberts, Rodino, Rogers (Colo.), Ronan, Rooney (N.Y.), Rooney (Pa.), Rosenthal, Rostenkowski, Roush, Roybal, St Germain, Scheuer, Selden, Shipley, Sikes, Sisk, Slack, Smith (Iowa), Staggers, Steed, Stephens, Stubblefield, Stuckey, Sullivan, Teague (Tex.), Tenzer, Thompson (N.J.), Tiernan, Tunney, Udall, Ullman, Van Deerlin, Vanik, Vigorito, Waggonner, Waldie, Walker, Watts, White, Whitener, Whitten, Wilson, Charles, Wright, Yates, Young, Zablocki

REPUBLICANS FOR: 4

Halpern, Kupferman, Kyl, Reid (N.Y.)

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 25

Abbitt, Abernethy, Ashmore, Baring, Bennett, Colmer, Conyers, Gathings, Haley, Helstoski, Jarman, Kastenmeier, Lennon, Macdonald (Mass.), Marsh, Ottinger, Pool, Rarick, Rogers (Fla.), Ryan, Satterfield, Taylor, Tuck, Williams (Miss.), Wolff

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 158

Adair, Anderson (Ill.), Andrews (N.D.), Arends, Ashbrook, Ayres, Battin, Belcher, Berry, Betts, Biester, Blackburn, Bolton, Bow, Bray, Brock, Brotzman, Brown (Mich.), Brown (Ohio), Broyhill (N.C.), Broyhill (Va.), Buchanan, Burke (Fla.), Burton (Utah), Bush, Button, Byrnes (Wis.), Cahill, Cederberg, Chamberlain, Clancy, Clausen, Don, Clawson, Del, Cleveland, Collier, Conable, Conte, Corbett, Cramer, Cunningham, Curtis, Davis (Wis.), Dellenback, Denney, Derwinski, Devine, Dole, Duncan, Dwyer, Edwards (Ala.), Esch, Eshleman, Findley, Ford, Gerald, Fulton (Pa.), Gardner, Goodell, Goodling, Gross, Grover, Gubser, Gude, Gurney, Hall, Hammerschmidt, Hansen (Idaho), Harvey, Horton, Hunt, Hutchinson, Johnson (Pa.), Jonas, Keith, Kleppe, Laird, Langen, Latta, Lipscomb, Lloyd, McClory, McClure, McDade, McDonald (Mich.), McEwen, MacGregor, Mailliard, Mathias (Calif.), May, Mayne, Meskill, Michel, Miller (Ohio), Minshall, Mize, Moore, Morse (Mass.), Morton, Mosher, Myers, Nelsen, O'Konski, Pelly, Pettis, Pirnie, Poff, Pollock, Price (Tex.), Quie, Quillen, Railsback, Reid (Ill.), Reifel, Reinecke, Rhodes (Ariz.), Riegle, Robison, Roth, Roudebush, Rumsfeld, Ruppe, Sandman, Saylor, Schadeberg, Scherle, Schneebeli, Schweiker, Schwengel, Shriver, Skubitz, Smith (Calif.), Smith (N.Y.), Smith (Okla.), Springer, Stafford, Stanton, Steiger (Ariz.), Steiger (Wis.), Taft, Talcott, Teague (Calif.), Thompson (Ga.), Thomson (Wis.), Utt, Vander Jagt, Wampler, Watkins, Whalen, Whalley, Widnall, Wiggins, Williams (Pa.), Wilson, Bob, Winn, Wydler, Wylie, Wyman, Zion, Zwach

NOT VOTING: 36

Poverty Program Rollcall

Following is the 247-to-149 rollcall vote by which the House of Representatives on December 11 approved the Senate-House conference report authorizing a two-year continuance of LBJ's "War on Poverty" program, including $1.98-billion authorization for the coming fiscal year. The amount is some $200 million greater than the sum Sargent Shriver said was necessary to keep the program operating at last year's level and represents a major Administration victory (see page 4). An "aye" vote is a vote for increased spending:

DEMOCRATS FOR: 183

Adams, Addabbo, Albert, Anderson (Tenn.), Ashley, Aspinall, Baring, Barrett, Bingham, Blanton, Blatnik, Boggs, Boland, Brademas, Brasco, Brooks, Brown (Calif.), Burke (Mass.), Burton (Calif.), Byrne (Pa.), Cabell, Carey, Casey, Celler, Clark, Cohelan, Conyers, Corman, Culver, Daddario, Daniels, Dawson, de la Garza, Delaney, Dent, Diggs, Dingell, Donohue, Dorn, Dow, Dulski, Eckhardt, Edmondson, Edwards (Calif.), Edwards (La.), Eilberg, Evans (Colo.), Evins (Tenn.), Fallon, Farbstein, Fascell, Feighan, Flood, Foley, Ford, Wm., Fraser, Friedel, Fulton (Tenn.), Galifianakis, Gallagher, Garmatz, Giaimo, Gibbons, Gilbert, Gonzalez, Gray, Green (Ore.), Green (Pa.), Griffiths, Hamilton, Hanley, Hanna, Hansen (Wash.), Hathaway, Hawkins, Hays, Hechler (W. Va.), Helstoski, Hicks, Holifield, Holland, Howard, Irwin, Jacobs, Johnson (Calif.), Jones (Ala.), Karsten, Karth, Kastenmeier, Kazen, Kee, Kelly, King (Calif.), Kirwan, Kluczynski, Kyros, Landrum, Leggett, Long (Md.), McCarthy, McFall, Macdonald (Mass.), Machen, Madden, Mahon, Matsunaga, Meeds, Miller (Calif.), Mills, Minish, Mink, Monagan, Moorhead, Morgan, Morris (N.M.), Moss, Multer, Murphy (Ill.), Murphy (N.Y.), Natcher, Nedzi, Nix, O'Hara (Ill.), O'Hara (Mich.), Olsen, O'Neill (Mass.), Ottinger, Patman, Patten, Pepper, Perkins, Philbin, Pickle, Pike, Poage, Price (Ill.), Pucinski, Purcell, Rees, Reuss, Rhodes (Pa.), Roberts, Rodino, Rogers (Colo.), Ronan, Rooney (N.Y.), Rooney (Pa.), Rosenthal, Rostenkowski, Roush, Roybal, Ryan, St Germain, Scheuer, Shipley, Sisk, Slack, Smith (Iowa), Staggers, Steed, Stephens, Stubblefield, Sullivan, Tenzer, Thompson (N.J.), Tiernan, Tunney, Udall, Ullman, Van Deerlin, Vanik, Vigorito, Waldie, Walker, Watts, White, Wilson, Charles, Wolff, Wright, Yates, Young, Zablocki

REPUBLICANS FOR: 64

Adair, Anderson (Ill.), Ayres, Battin, Biester, Brotzman, Brown (Mich.), Burton (Utah), Button, Cahill, Cleveland, Conable, Conte, Corbett, Cunningham, Dellenback, Dwyer, Esch, Fulton (Pa.), Grover, Gude, Halpern, Harvey, Horton, Johnson (Pa.), Keith, Kupferman, Lloyd, McDade, McDonald (Mich.), MacGregor, May, Meskill, Moore, Morse (Mass.), Morton, Mosher, Pelly, Pirnie, Pollock, Quie, Railsback, Reid (N.Y.), Riegle, Robison, Roth, Rumsfeld, Ruppe, Sandman, Saylor, Schweiker, Shriver, Smith (N.Y.), Springer, Stafford, Stanton, Steiger (Wis.), Taft, Wampler, Whalen, Widnall, Wydler, Wyman, Zwach

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 50

Abbitt, Abernethy, Andrews (Ala.), Ashmore, Bennett, Bevill, Brinkley, Burleson, Colmer, Davis (Ga.), Dowdy, Downing, Everett, Fisher, Flynt, Fuqua, Gathings, Gettys, Hagan, Haley, Hebert, Hull, Hungate, Ichord, Jarman, Jones (Mo.), Jones (N.C.), Lennon, Long (La.), McMillan, Marsh, Montgomery, O'Neal (Ga.), Passman, Pool, Pryor, Randall, Rarick, Rivers, Rogers (Fla.), Satterfield, Selden, Sikes, Stuckey, Teague (Tex.), Tuck, Waggonner, Whitener, Whitten, Williams (Miss.)

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 99

Andrews (N.D.), Arends, Ashbrook, Belcher, Berry, Betts, Blackburn, Bolton, Bow, Bray, Brock, Brown (Ohio), Broyhill (N.C.), Broyhill (Va.), Buchanan, Burke (Fla.), Bush, Byrnes (Wis.), Cederberg, Chamberlain, Clancy, Clausen, Don, Clawson, Del, Collier, Cramer, Curtis, Davis (Wis.), Denney, Derwinski, Devine, Dole, Duncan, Edwards (Ala.), Eshleman, Findley, Ford, Gerald, Gardner, Goodell, Goodling, Gross, Gubser, Gurney, Hall, Hammerschmidt, Hansen (Idaho), Hunt, Hutchinson, Jonas, Kleppe, Kyl, Laird, Langen, Latta, Lipscomb, McClory, McClure, McCulloch, Mailliard, Mathias (Calif.), Mayne, Michel, Miller (Ohio), Minshall, Mize, Myers, Nelsen, O'Konski, Pettis, Poff, Price (Tex.), Quillen, Reid (Ill.), Reifel, Reinecke, Rhodes (Ariz.), Roudebush, Schadeberg, Scherle, Schneebeli, Schwengel, Scott, Skubitz, Smith (Calif.), Smith (Okla.), Steiger (Ariz.), Talcott, Teague (Calif.), Thompson (Ga.), Thomson (Wis.), Utt, Vander Jagt, Watkins, Whalley, Wiggins, Williams (Pa.), Winn, Wylie, Zion

NOT VOTING: 36

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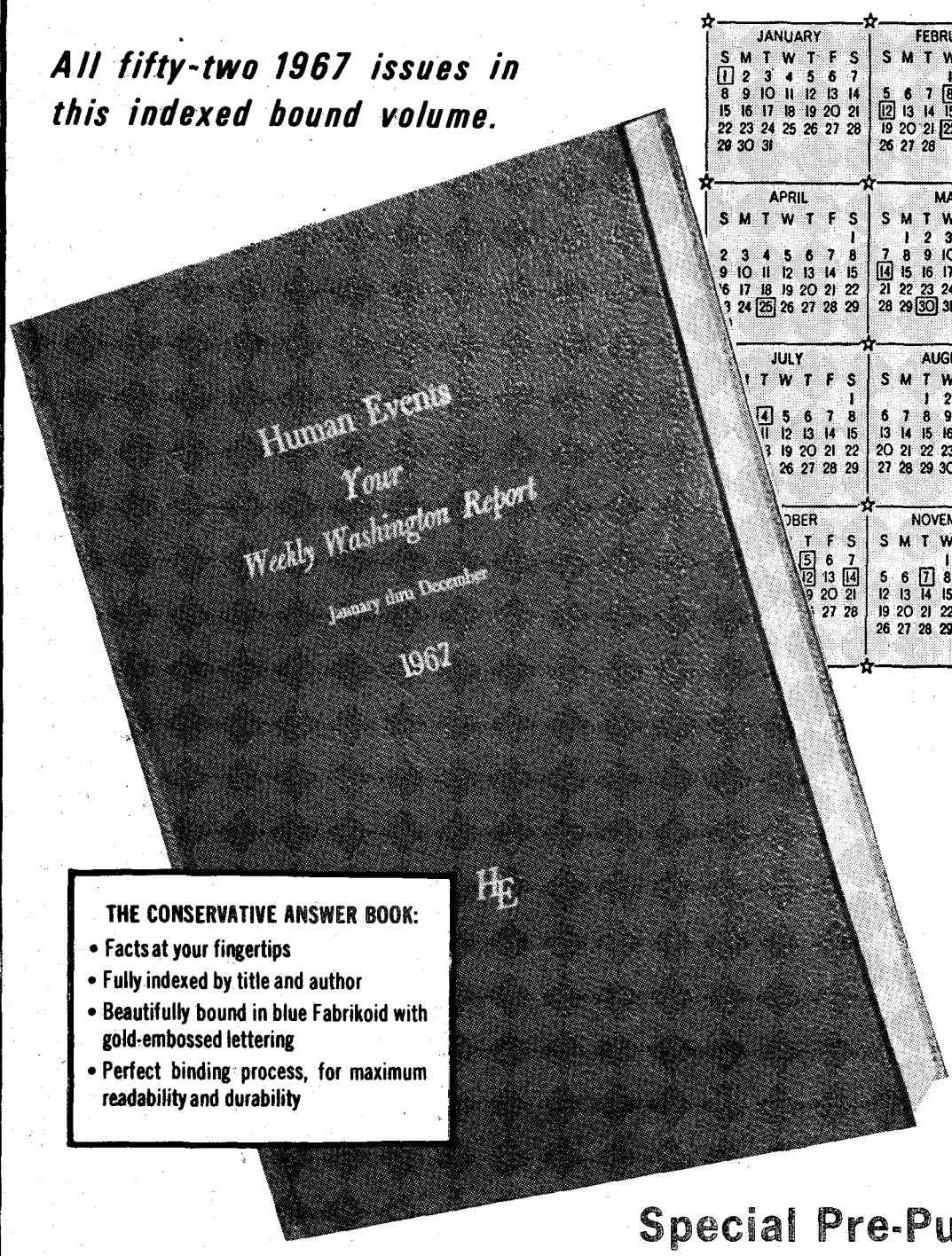

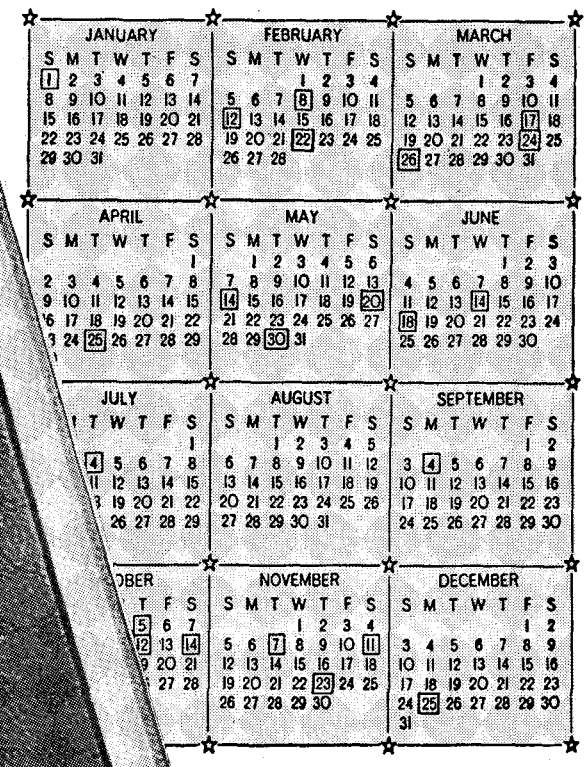

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